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PAKISTAN QUARTERLY

Vol. XIII, No. 2 & 3

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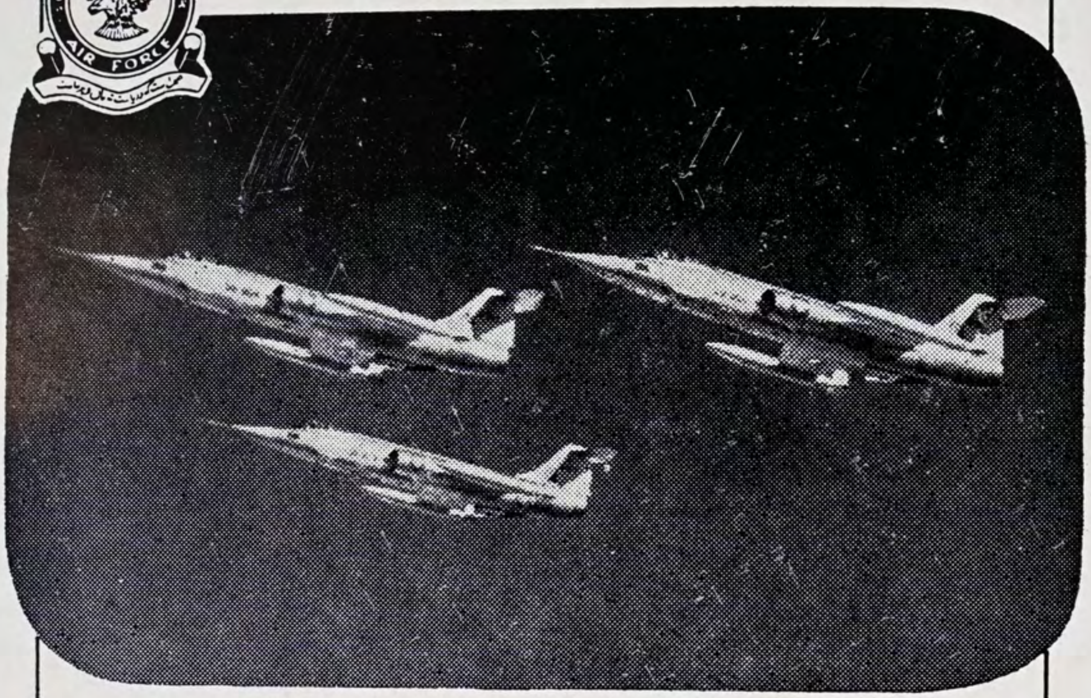

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Autumn and Winter 1965

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"FROZEN FIRE"
an abstract study by
Hamidur Rahman

Feature articles on various aspects of Pakistan, its social and cultural life, past and present, are invited from all writers. Literary contributions, poems, short stories, with Pakistani background, also popular discussions of important topical problems, would be welcome. Relevant photographs and drawings should be sent where possible.

Contributions should be addressed to the Editor, "Pakistan", P.O. Box 183, KARACHI.

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Soldiers of Pakistan Army with jeep-mounted recoil-less rifles in hot pursuit of the fleeing Indians somewhere on the Southern front

ON THE INDO-PAKISTAN FRONT

S. AMJAD ALI

THE borders of West Pakistan with India make a thousand mile long bulging arc, along which almost a million armed men lie facing each other across trenches and barbed wire . . . The atmosphere of uneasy truce is tense with suspicion, and all along the cease-fire line the suspended hostilities have every now and then flared up at the slightest provocation.

It is a strange experience to tour the forward areas, and to talk to the officers and men as also the members of the public. One lives again those seventeen days of ordeal by fire since the Indians launched their sudden attack on West Pakistan at Lahore in the dark early hours of September 6. In fact one could say that the happenings of those eventful seventeen days of war are like a living presence that stalk the habitations of men in their super-human dimensions, felt and talked of by everyone.

The scene of devastation in the crowded Trunk Bazaar of Sialkot, for example, where a thousand pound bomb was dropped by Indian planes, is a significant symbol—symbol of the vandalism and futile rage of an unsuccessful aggressor who vented his venom against the civilian population, and also symbol of the fortitude and tight-lipped courage with which the people of Pakistan bore their trials.

Part of the area destroyed in the holocaust was the street of goldsmiths. The bomb fell at about two in the night, but when the shop-keepers came in the morning, they found not a grain of gold had been removed by anyone. In fact the volunteer organizations of the Razakaars had worked all night to rescue the wounded and to remove the debris from the wreckage. Most of these Razakaars worked day and night during the war, and hardly took their boots off throughout the emergency.

The site was cleared through public effort, though it may have taken the private owners of each house and shop weeks or months to clear the premises. It is a measure of the confidence and fearless optimism of the people that immediately after the war they started reconstruction of the buildings on the old sites, knowing full well that they were and are exposed to the bombing and even artillery fire of the enemy.

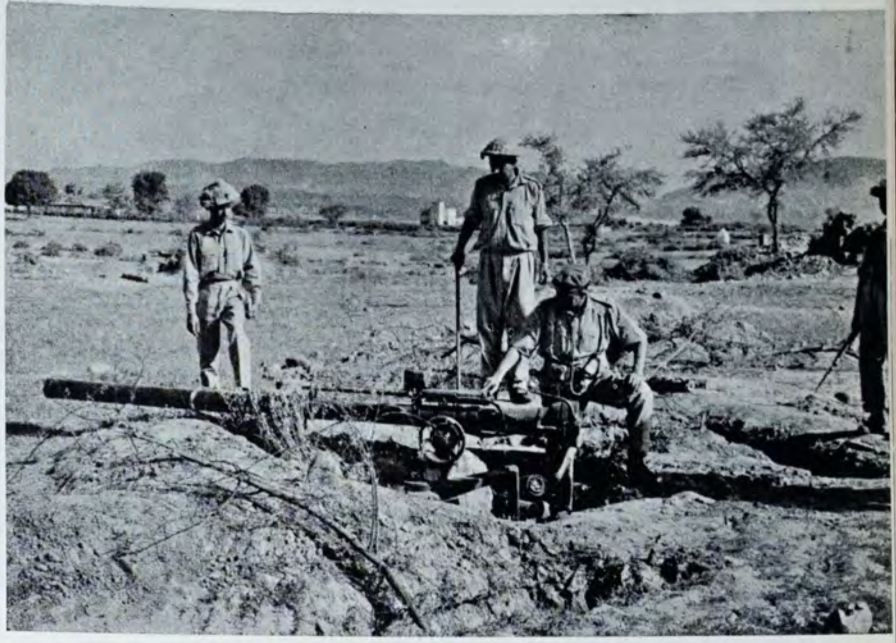
Sialkot was the northern-most point at which the Indian armies launched their aggression against Pakistan. It was here, in the nearby village of Awan that they first indulged in wanton shelling on August 24. Here again it was that they opened the second front on September 8 after their murderous assault on the city of Lahore on September 6 was miraculously frustrated.

INVASION OF SIALKOT

The country all around Sialkot was the scene of fierce battles which may well have decided the fate of Pakistan. The enemy came in corps strength (three infantry and one armoured division) while we had hardly one fourth of the force to hold back the attack. The first major thrust was made south of Sialkot in the direction of Chawinda village and Pasrur, but, when this was repulsed, the enemy tried to bypass Chawinda and make for Badiana village in the direction of Daska. From here again they were thrown back atleast five miles. But much had happened in the interval.

As one wanders around these historic precincts where the sacred soil of Pakistan was defended by the reckless courage and superlative gallantry of our men, one tries to visualise the great tank battles and grim encounters that took place here. The fields are marked with small and large craters made by artillery shells and aerial bombing. The village houses are a heap of rubble, and the standing structures bear the marks of intense firing.

The once populous and happy homes and streets are desolate in Chawinda, which bore the brunt of the enemy shelling, but even here, with the enemy barely half a mile away, life is returning to normal. Roads ripped open by rumbling tanks, are being repaired, houses are being re-built, shops are re-opening, and houses are being re-occupied. The Azan (call to prayers) again sounds in the mosques, and one can see small congregation offering their prayers.



An officer of Pakistan Army inspects a recoil-less rifle left by Indian Army in Chhamb area

THE OFFICERS IN THE FRONT LINE

As you walk to the head-quarters of the battalion that helped to defend this vital sector, you find civilian visitors and also army officers from other units coming to meet the heroes, and to see with their own eyes the scenes of stirring battles that are fast becoming a legend.

The officers are a picture of cheerful confidence and strength. Sitting out in the cold morning breeze, with the sun shining softly through the mist, they will willingly share their recollections of the war, modestly mention their own contribution, and coldly analyse the action as a problem of

Soldiers relaxing outside their bunkers somewhere near Sialkot

Village Bedian on the Sialkot-Pasrur road from where the enemy was pushed back in fierce battles ▶

Below:

The lofty structures of Khem-Karan, where the folly of the rulers brought sorrow to the prosperous citizens

The war-scarred face of Batapur, Lahore

Bata
PAKISTAN

military science.

Often they themselves cannot explain the way in which the tables were turned on the aggressor despite the advantage of a surprise attack and the overwhelming superiority of numbers. Now that they realize fully the crucial nature of each defensive action, in which a handful of our men were pitted against the hordes of the enemy, they shudder to think of the responsibility they bore, and marvel at the hazard they faced, not to themselves but to the country.

Even in those difficult days, however, they were aware, though not so clearly as now, of the high stakes that were involved.

When a junior officer drew the attention of his superior to the almost untenable position that he was holding against tremendous odds, the commander replied :

"Remember there is nothing between us and Sialkot. We are Mussalmans and shall live or die where we stand".

HAIR-BREADTH ESCAPES

One walks in thankfulness, with bowed head, over the fields on which our men made the supreme sacrifice for the country. Right outside of Chawinda, to the north, is a small mound which is pointed out as the place where the Commanding Officer of one of our battalions made his field "head-quarters". Two companies of the battalion were lying in forward positions in the fields, and the battle was being directed from here. At one stage the wireless signal apparatus went out of order and the C. O. had to stand up and shout his commands to the company commanders way out, or a young lieutenant had to run back and forth to them carrying messages, while the enemy guns rained death on our positions.

Behind this "head-quarters" in the field was a small one-room brick house, and it was with some interest that one observed the big hole in the wall and a similar gaping void in the opposite wall on the other side. On enquiry it was explained that the double hole was made by a shell fired by a tank in the direction of the C.O's. position, while he was standing and directing the operations with some other officers. The shot whistled past the C.O. leaving a trail of smoke, which they eyed with some curiosity, only to realize in a flash that they had just narrowly escaped going up in smoke themselves.

But while recounting the stirring episodes of the days of the war, the C.O. had not a word for his own important role, saying that the battles were all fought by "these young men" his officers, and that he himself had a bad knee, and in any case was too old to run.

Coming out into the open, one finds the soldiers sitting outside their trenches and listening in to transistor radios, as if they were just enjoying an interval in a football match. From a high Observation Post, one can see the enemy lines criss-crossing through the fields, on which unharvested crops are withering. The Indian soldiers in dark green uniforms are moving furtively about. At nearby Allarh Railway Station, one can walk to within a stone's throw of the Indian trenches. There is a soldier drawing water from a well, another is doing sentry duty and pacing about dejectedly. On our side some soldiers were praying outside the trench, others were relaxing, and still others were keeping a sharp watchout as they lie holding their rifles in front of them.

One of the most fierce actions was fought around Allarh station, which was at first captured by the Indians but which they were later forced to abandon. At the time of cease-fire, we were holding one side of the railway line and the Indians the other. With the armies sitting nose to nose, as there, it requires all the forbearance and generosity in the world to avoid incidents and minor flare ups. This our men showed in abundant measure.

When however the war was on they performed feats of martial prowess that are fit to be written in letters of gold. The whole front is resounding with numerous incredible episodes and it is worth recounting a few before moving on from the Sialkot sector to Lahore.

ONE MAN'S SACRIFICE

On the fateful morning of September 8, when the enemy was opening a new front in the Sialkot sector, one company of a certain battalion had already been selected to move up to the border at Parel, while the battalion remained at Chawinda. The task given to the Company was to provide early information of any advance and to impose delay on the enemy. The attack came a little before midnight in brigade strength, after one and a half hour of intense shelling. The company stood its ground for two hours and then was asked to withdraw towards Chawinda.

After a continuous night-long march the company reached village Shadipur but in the difficult going it lost contact with its battalion. While the company was digging in, six tanks were seen approaching the village. The Company Commander wanted to go and identify the tanks but his batman, Sepoy Fida Hussain, offered to go and check himself. Everybody held his breath as they watched the selfless hero walk up into the jaws of death. It was soon discovered by Fida Hussain that the tanks belonged to the enemy and he dashed back to the Company Headquarters with the valuable information.

The tank squadron attacked a platoon of the Company which had been detached from the main force, and to control the battle it was essential to contact the platoon through runners. Any delay in contacting the platoon would have imperilled the life of the whole company. Fida Hussain volunteered to perform this duty and crawled through enemy tanks twice to carry valuable information, but in the third attempt was spotted by a tank and killed by machine gun fire. Fida Hussain gladly and with open eyes gave up his life for the sake of his Company, and thus for his country,

Cavalry boys inspecting two of the Indian AMX Tanks which were abandoned in Chhamb area by the fleeing Indians and which are in perfect running condition

A hero of the war standing on the Bedian Headworks, with the village in the background

A structure behind Bedian Headworks fairly riddled with shells and bullets

because in this first major encounter on the Sialkot Sector, the enemy was suitably overawed and held at bay while the rest of our forces got time to strengthen their positions. The heroism of one individual may well have had far reaching effect on the course of the battle.

LAHORE SECTOR

In the Lahore Sector the armies are lying facing each other across the B.R.B. Canal. The tension here is greater than anywhere else. As one sits talking at the Battalion Headquarters somewhere in the green fields and well irrigated land of the Lahore countryside, one can hear the crackle of l.m.g. fire signifying yet another cease-fire violation. It has been like this always here and our men maintain superhuman restraint in the face of provocation.

The most crucial battle of all, perhaps, was fought at Batapur on the main Grand Trunk Road that leads to Wagah on the border and inwards to Ravi Bridge and onto Lahore City. The beautifully laid out industrial colony of Batapur is a shambles as a result of intense enemy shelling. Our forward positions are right on the canal bank, where a single battalion held up the mighty enemy advance on the night of 5/6 September. It is inspiring to talk to the Commanding Officer and to hear him recount the heroic action.

HEROIC DEFENCE

Lahore was directly attacked from three directions, Rani in the north, Wagah in the middle, and Burki in the south. The Wagah attack was most crucial because it was on the main G.T. Road leading over the Ravi bridge into Lahore city. Luckily our forces had moved forward on the night of September 4/5 and taken defensive positions on this side of the B.R.B. Canal bank by the evening of the 5th. A famous Baluch battalion with a glorious history of 200 years was entrusted with this momentous task. The C.O. rightly reminded the men that so far they had shed their blood for others; now for the first time they had a chance to fight for the sake of their country, and they should maintain and even excel their noble record.

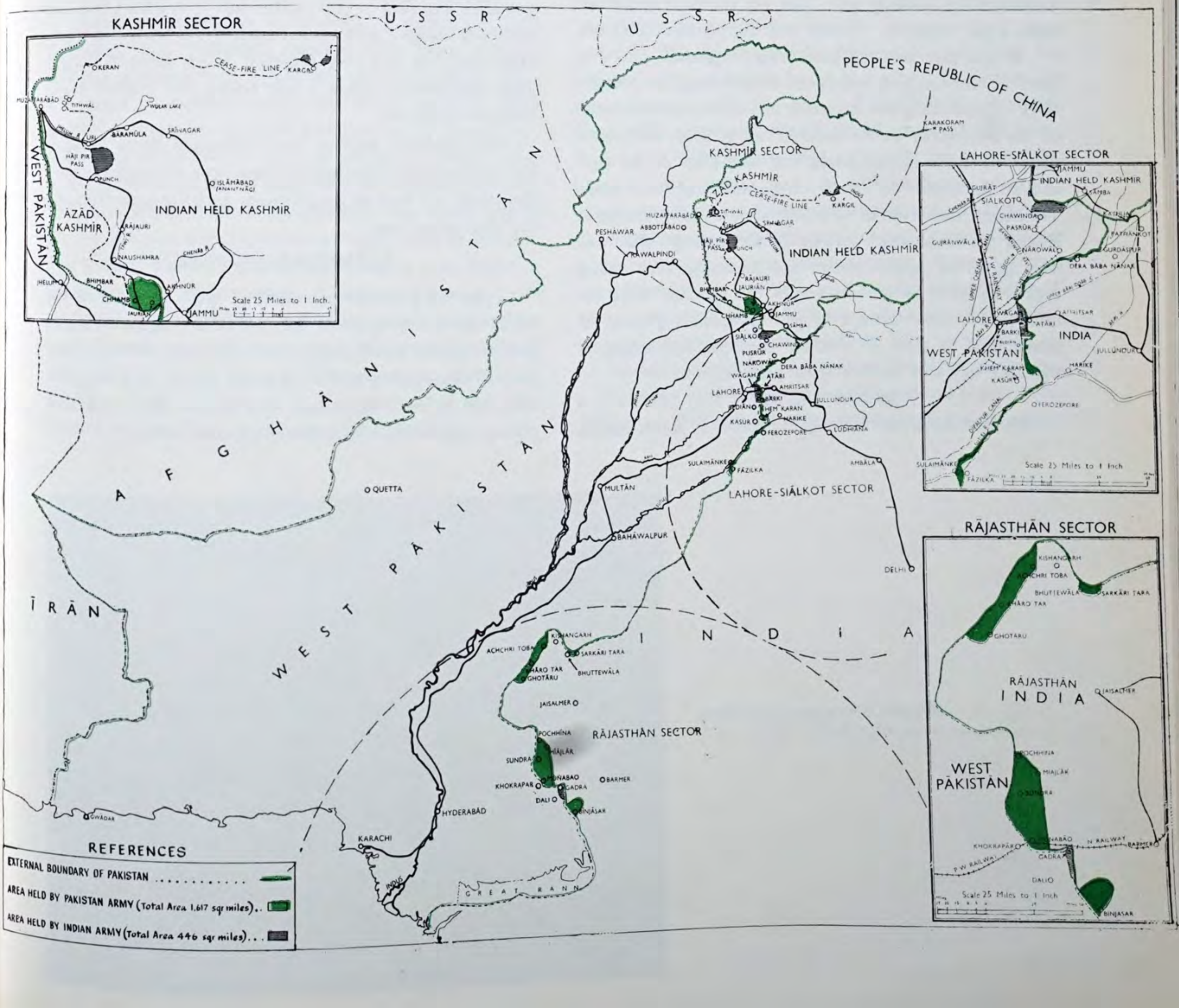
The Indian attack in this direction started at about 7-30 on the morning of the 6th, after intense shelling. They had a whole infantry division and one armoured regiment. As the enemy advanced in strength, the handful of our men, whose battalion was deployed on a five-mile front, took on the aggressors from their positions, without trenches. Sharp marksmanship played havoc with the enemy ranks. Soon two enemy tanks were seen advancing towards the bridge. We had anti-tank weapons but there was no cover from where to fire them. Luckily at that moment a hay cart trundled over the bridge right into our positions—one of the stream of refugees that had been coming in from the border villages. The farmer was at once requested to unharness the bullocks and to leave the cart there. Behind it we installed the anti-tank guns and knocked out the advancing tanks which were now right upon us. This had the desired effect on the enemy of stopping the advance for a while, but soon after their infantry started to cross the bridge. As a desperate measure, the C.O. of our battalion asked our artillary to fire on the bridge right on our positions. The advancing enemy was deterred by this fire. Some were killed, but about 10 persons were still able to cross the bridge. When some of them were mown down by our fire, the rest beat a hasty retreat. Meanwhile, luckily two of our jet planes also came up and supported us in our defence. There was a pause in the battle from 12 a.m. to 4 p.m. and then probing activity started from the enemy side. Some reinforcements were brought up by us from the rear and the battle started, continuing till 7 p.m. At 9 O'clock the Brigade Commander ordered the bridge to be destroyed but the enemy was determined to frustrate this attempt. Intense artillery fire was coming from the enemy side and Batapur was ablaze. A second attempt was made to destroy the bridge but the army engineers who were to lay the charge were completely exposed to enemy fire, and could not achieve the objective. Luckily at about 9 p.m. four Indian 3-ton trucks came up on the far side of the bank. We fired at them and destroyed them, killing some of the men while the others ran away. These destroyed trucks proved excellent cover for our engineers to go and make arrangements for the blowing up of the bridge. At 1 a.m. in the night on the third attempt the bridge was finally destroyed, thus closing the line of advance of the enemy.

For a whole day and a night a handful of 40 or 50 men were able to hold the advance of the enemy on this crucial point.There was nothing between this gallant group of Lahore except a small platoon on this axis.

On the 7th a big attack in division strength came on and was replused. On the 9th we launched a big counter attack crossing the canal towards the north, at the point where the canal siphon goes up from under the Ravi river. Our forces were able to advance right upto Wagah where they remained till the 21st. Later, on for tactical reasons they had to withdraw. The enemy attacked in division strength and occupied village Dograi right on the canal bank. Still that means the enemy has only 700 yards front on the canal from the village school to the canal regulator. For the rest, all the areas to the left and right is controlled by us. This memorable stand on the bank was most crucial for the defence of Lahore and may well be compared to the famous stand made by the Gloucester Regiment on the Injen river in Korea.

MAJ. BHATTI'S MEMORABLE STAND

Driving south along the B.R.B. Canal, one comes to the point opposite Burki village where the immortal Maj. Bhatti gave up his life after having put up a gallant and matchless stand against overwhelming odds at Burki village. Although the first full scale encounter of the Indian invaders with our forces was on the G. T. Road at Batapur, small forward units challenged and held them up for ten hours at Hadiara village under Maj. Shafqat Baluch, and again for four days at Burki under the noble martyr, Maj. Aziz Bhatti. Their contribution to the defence of the fatherland will never be forgotten. The Commanding Officer of Maj. Bhatti's Battalion, talked in glowing terms of the


KASHMĪR SECTOR
CEASE-FIRE LINE
WEST PAKISTAN
ĀZĀD KASHMĪR
INDIAN HELD KASHMĪR
Scale 25 Miles to 1 Inch
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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
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REFERENCES
EXTERNAL BOUNDARY OF PAKISTAN ....
AREA HELD BY PAKISTAN ARMY (Total Area 1,617 sq. miles).. 🟩
AREA HELD BY INDIAN ARMY (Total Area 446 sq. miles)... ▨

departed officer, recalling how he had been asked to fall back on this side of the canal from Burki but he did not do so until he had brought away almost all his men with him. Later he was asked to go for rest but he retuned after three hours only, saying that his place was at the post of duty. While directing artillery fire from the Observation Post, Maj. Bhatti was hit by a shell splinter and died on the spot. At once another officer was asked to take his position. "How does one feel when one is asked to step into the place of a fallen comrade" I thought aloud. "They are all chips of the same block—cast in the same heroic mould—and think nothing of facing death. That young man sitting over there, Maj. Munir, took command of the Company immediately", said the C.O.

BEDIAN HEADWORKS

One indirect attack on Lahore was directed further south in the direction of Bedian where there is a canal headworks at the junction of the B.R.B. and the U.B.D.C. Canal, and from where roads in many directions lead out along the canals. The enemy thought that perhaps here the place would be weakly defended and it would be able to sneak in on Lahore. Moreover it is only 1200 yards from the border and a sudden onslaught was possible here. But our men were in position right from September 1, and had dug in their positions.

It was here that the East Bengal Regiment showed its mettle. One company held back a whole brigade for seventeen days. The shelling was so intense that even the steel structure of the headworks on the canal is full of holes and twisted plates. For the biggest attack that took place on the night of 9/10 September, the artillery firing continued for 36 hours. The officer pointed out to me a three storey building in the town behind the canal which was hit by the shelling. But they were powerless against determined men who were staking their very lives in the defence of the country. Even the local people came forward to help the soldiers, passing the ammunition to them in advanced positions, and helping in whatever way they could at great personal risk.

KHEM KARAN

Further down south along the border is Khem Karan, where another great victory was achieved in the war. This large and prosperous border town was an important grain market. It had a century old Municipal Committee, and the lofty private and public structures testified to its affluence.

Today it is a ghost town where desolation reigns. Wandering cattle or the cars and jeeps of visitors raise clouds of dust in the scattered rubble. Letters found in the houses reveal a pathetic tale of residents being informed by relations that the place was unsafe and that they should clear out. The aggression of the Indians towards Qasur spelled the ruin of this town, for Qasur was not only well defended but the Indian town on the opposite side of the border was captured by our forces on the morning of the 8th, when they retaliated and carried the war into the enemy's territory.

Talking to the Brigadier who commanded these operations, one learns that the loss of this town was felt more strongly by the Indians than any other setback in this war. To the end they concealed it from the public and even upto September 20, (three days before the close of the war) they continued to claim in the Parliament that they held Khem Karan. This was the only area in which they were politically disturbed by the military defeat, as atleast two lakh well-to-do refugees must have streamed out from this place. One result was that they launched bitter, frenzied attacks again and again to regain Khem Karan and suffered heavy losses but all in vain.

The difference between our troops and theirs however was this that while they brought fresh men for every successsive attack, our men on the positions were the same from the first day to the last.

RAJASTHAN SECTOR

From the populous heartland of West Pakistan in the north, one moves south to the vast desert expanses, where there is often no habitation for miles together. With a small army Pakistan had to hold all this vast border of a thousand miles and naturally the troops were spread fairly thin, thus placing tremendous responsibility on each soldier.

Munabao railway station seen from the top of a ridge

It is not easy to reach our forward areas and to meet the heroes of the war, because communications are difficult and it may take a whole day just to cover a hundred miles to get there. But it is worth it, for there is much that is unique in the Rajasthan campaign. A vast sprawling border of 800 miles was defended by just one brigade, and yet the upshot was that that the largest territory gained from the enemy was in this sector—1200 sq. miles.

As the Brigadier explained this was made possible by refusing to wait for the Indian offensive but by attacking so that they should be following our moves rather than we theirs. The campaign was therefore a good example of the axiom that offence is the best defence.

On September 11, they captured Munabao Railway Station without any resistance from the enemy. Sheltered by little sand hills, it is quite a pretty little place, with cottages of stone for the railway staff and a small village nestling in the mist of tall cactus bushes. In a big hall all travellers from Pakistan going to India were expected to show their travel documents, before they took the train that leads from here into India. Today all the hectic activity of bygone days is no more and a grim silence reigns over the desert air.

Again on September 13 Panchila, 14 miles away from Munabao, was captured, together with many prisoners and lots of ammunition. After two days we took Shakarbo. The series of triumphs culminated in the important action at Dali, where two complete battalions of the enemy were completely wiped out (17 Madras and 4th Marahta). Some informers from the Hindu village of Dali (Pakistani territory) had informed the Indians that this place was weakly held by the Rangers and that there was no regular army to defend it. The Indians therefore planned an offensive from Gadra to Jessokepar, to Dali, Khinsa, Chhachro, Umarkot, thus to get behind our positions at Chhor. We would then have had to abandon our position without a battle and to relinquish vast territory to the enemy. Chhor is on the railway line that goes from Khokropar to Mirpurkhas, and thus vital communication lines would have been threatened.

One can briefly describe the masterly manoeuvres and the daring actions which led to the capture of Dali on September 20, by the Punjab Regiment, affectionately called the Desert Hawks, and it is interesting to visit this desert village that lies protected by crescent shaped sand ridges on the east and to walk into the cool mud huts with their strange conical thatch roofs.

THE DALI CAMPAIGN

One company was ordered on September 17 to probe forward towards Dali as far as possible. Our forces took Jessokepar the same evening. From the other side the enemy advanced from Dali. Their further advance was stopped by this company helped by some Rangers and Mujahids. Both remained fighting sporadically in this position till the 20th when the enemy launched another attack supported by tanks. Our company and the Rangers were ordered to fall back to the next ridge where they were asked to stop the enemy at all costs.

In the meantime, force was sent from Khokropar to attack the enemy from the rear. This was a very daring manoeuvre in which our men had to move very close to the Indian border for considerable distace without being noticed. This was successfully done and when Dali was attacked, the enemy was facing the other side to fight our forces on the south-east. On that side Dali was protected by a series of crescent shaped ridges, on which the enemy had dug in their positions, and were well entrenched. But when they were attacked from the north-west, they were taken aback, abandoned the village, and ran through an opening in the ridges. Some officers took positions in the lower ridges that could be reached quickly from the village. From there they were slowly driven out and the retreating ones were chased. In the intense fighting that followed, two complete battalions of the enemy were almost annihilated, the 17th Madras and the 4th Marahtas. It is estimated that about 200 of the enemy died in this intense battle that lasted two days and two nights. Seven officers, 17 JCO and 151 ORs were made prisoners while a

A panaromic view of Dali village from the top of the crescent shaped ridges on the south-west huge amount of arms and ammunition was captured, including 30 vehicles, 9 MGs, 69 sten guns, 161 rifles and 2 RRs. The biggest bag, however, was of 3 big Sherman tanks that were abandoned by the enemy in full working order. This was a unique achievement for an infantry battalion unaided by any tanks.

It is an interesting sidelight on the war that the Hindu residents, some of whom had probably acted as informers for the Indians, were displaced from the village during the operations, for the village was made into a big military base by them, but instead of going over to the otherside of the border they came to the Pakistan side, and were given all necessary protection. For one thing, there are near famine conditions in Rajasthan and foodgrains are extremely dear. The poor village folk are unwilling to go voluntarily into an area where they know that they are likely to starve, and the Pakistan authorities were ready to welcome them.

The military exploits of the army in this sector are almost legendary, for not only did they capture the largest chunk of territory, but the largest number of prisoners, huge amounts of military stores and ammunition, and above all, three enemy tanks, which is unique achievement for an infantry regiment. This regiment is also perhaps the mostly highly decorated battalion in the Pakistan Army for it has five officers who have been awarded Sitara-e-Jur'at, and the C. O. has the unique distinction of having a bar to the S. J.—that is, two Sitara-e-Jur'at.

EXPLOITS IN THE DESERT

Fantastic tales of personal courage are heard on this front, and some atleast can be recounted here. One Sepoy Mukhtar Gul, during the course of one action, saw that his platoon was being fired on. He got out, moved to the flank and crawled behind the enemy position. There he saw two men in a weapon pit from where the fire was being directed. He jumped in, killed one, while the other ran. Gul chased him and bayoneted him also. Then he saw that machine gun fire was coming from the flank. He moved in that direction and got into the crawl trench and ran towards the MG. gunner. When he was only five yards from the gun, the gunner turned to the MG on him and fired a burst which killed him. But with his last breadth he made a superhuman effort and fell right on the MG thus silencing it for a while. The platoon used the respite in the firing to attack the position and thus gained victory.

Another fantastic act of personal courage was that of a Major who was commanding a company in the capture of Jessokepar. He was leading a probe and went up a ridge thinking the enemy was'nt there. The rest of the men were some way behind and he drove up in a jeep with a driver commanding an MG. As soon as he climbed up the ridge, he saw two groups of enemy soldiers lying in ambush on either side. They shouted at him to surrender, but he was not cowed down, and shouted back at them "Hands up ? You hands up !" and to his man he ordered "Fire on them." The man made such good use of the MG that he killed five of the enemy but was himself killed in return. In the confusion that followed, the Major was able to join his men. He then led them to attack the enemy positions and routed them.

SPIRIT OF THE WAR

Such are the exploits that one hears of on every sector of the Indo-Pakistan border where our men fought. But then such acts of courage are found in every war, whether fought by the best or the worst of people. What renders the present war unique is the spirit in which it was fought. I asked the jeep driver of a commanding officer of a battalion what he got out of the war in the form of trophies. He said he often saw men lying dead with all sorts of valuables on their person, but he never had the heart to take anything. Once only he removed a spare wheel from an abandoned jeep, because "you never know when you might need it." For the rest, he said "I have driven the C.O. of the battalion in this jeep. They all sat on this seat next to me, and some are no more but God has spared me, though often we have had to drive through fields where shells came down on us like rain.

I spoke to another young officer on the same subject. He said "You do not know how close we are to God when we are in battle. The thought of looting never crosses the mind. I have never taken anything from the battlefield except this rosary that I found. It has helped me to recite verses of the Holy Quran."

Then I heard the story of another officer who had advanced 13 miles deep into Indian territory. Naturally in these sudden attacks, many villagers and their women got left behind. The C.O. ordered that all the women should be collected at some safe place, and during the night he himself stood guard on the place so that no one should be molested. Later when the Pakistanis had to abandon this forward position, the villagers were profuse in thanking the soldiers for the kind treatment the victors had meted out to them.

CAUSES OF SUCCESS

As one reflects on the amazing phenomenon of this war in which a small military power humbled an army atleast four times in size, one remembers the remark of an officer that the enemy could possibly defeat an army, if that was all it had to fight, but it was up against a whole nation of a hundred million, prepared to shed it last drop of blood for the motherland, and you cannot vanquish them.

One officer said : "As we drove in our jeep from Sialkot to Pasrur and Chawinda to the front lines, we were stopped after every hundred yards to have a drink of "lassi" (whipped curd mixed with water) or to accept a packet of cigarettes."

Another said : "As our train moved with the troops going to the front, we could see an old woman standing on the balcony of a house nearby, raising her hands up in prayer".

An officer in Rajasthan described how he was in Karachi when the war broke out and he was going in a jeep to Hyderabad to join his unit. When he stopped somewhere in Hyderabad City waiting for some other officer to join him, he was surrounded by an admiring crowd who invited him to come and have food or to accept some sweets, but he declined as he was in no mood to eat. Little boys furtively touched the weapon in the jeep and the elders in the group scolded them. When the crowd grew too much, some elderly person would ask them to stand aside and let me enjoy the breeze in the hot evening. "Later when I was about to leave, one person came and quietly placed two paper bags full of fruit and walked away. I did not have the heart to refuse, because there was a lump in my throat at the touching sentiments so silently but eloquently expressed by my countrymen."

Of course this moral support also found more tangible expression, witness the hundreds of millions of rupees voluntarily donated by the people for the Defence Fund. One business man alone donated 3-1/2 million rupees, but there is not a family in the whole country, probably, which has not donated in cash or kind.

As one very perceptive officer said, "There is a basic difference between us and the enemy. In our case the whole nation is knit together in one line of thought. What I am thinking my senior officer also is thinking and so is my subordinate officer and so on down to the humblest sepoy. Upwards, the same line of thought goes to President Ayub Khan. The whole nation is tensely geared up with single-mindedness of purpose, like the entire anatomy of a hunting animal about to pounce on the quarry. The death of any individual here makes little difference for the entire organism. This is not true of the enemy."

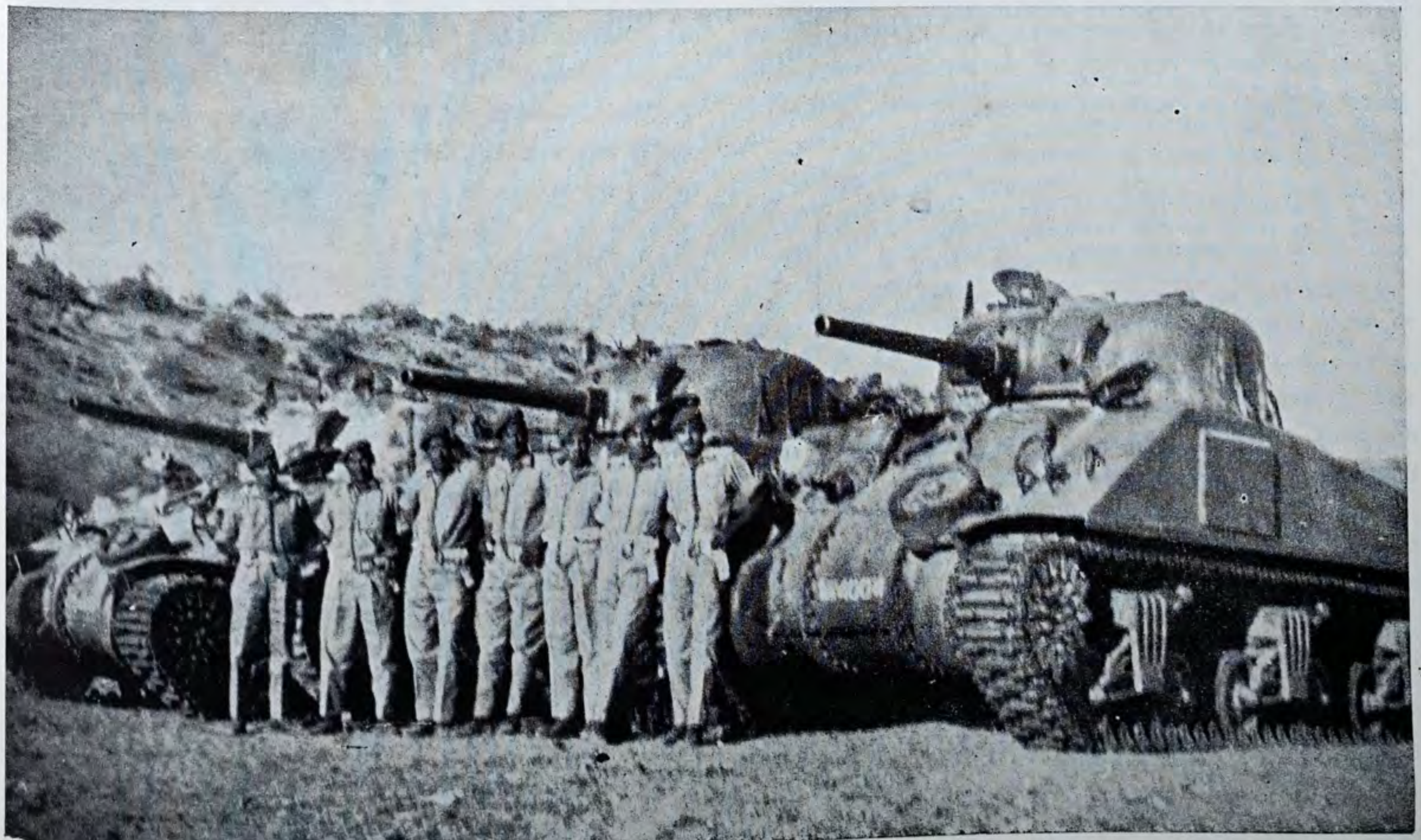
A NOBLE CAUSE

And then, above all, what greater or nobler cause can there be than the defence of the motherland. Our armies were not out to invade or loot or grab anyone else's territory or property. They were only defending the land and the people that gave them life, and that represent all that is dear and valuable to them. One fine young squadron leader who took part in the battles over the city of Lahore and won laurels put it this way :

"No one will deny that when you are ordered to go out on a mission in your plane, you know that this may be your last flight and there is an uncomfortable feeling in the stomach. But once you have put on your battle dress, you are feeling better, and still better when you are in the cockpit. When you have put the throttle on and are airborne, you are literally and figuratively on the top of the world. Then as you fly over the city and think of all the friends and relations and loved ones that you have in the city and whose safety depends on you, it is not difficult at all to give your life. In fact one is glad to do so. But the junior officers will not let you fly, because it is their privilege. 'Keep your hands off the glory', they say to the senior officers, as they rush into the aircrafts and streak up into the skies, pushing into the jaws of death as if they were going to a joy-ride."

What can you do with such a people ? War can lead to one result only for them, and that is victory.

The three Indian Sherman tanks captured at Dali



The Jawans on the Wagah Front snatch some moments to glance through newspapers

RANDOM PAGES OF A WARTIME DIARY

IBNE SAID

This is not a war diary, and the situations, happenings, people, places, even the first person of the narration which figures in these pages, may not always be altogether real or based on actual facts. Yet, the feelings, the passions, the moods conjured up in the diary are indeed very real; they are in fact the random reflections of the diarist ensnared in an intense interplay of events and emotions generated by a war—Author.

Lahore, 6th September :

A dry and sultry morning, like any other dry and sultry morning in September in Lahore. An odd cloud sails against the blue-grey sky; there has not been much rain yet. The monsoon usually breaks with its dramatic suddenness over Lahore about this time. It has however been merciful so far, and the annual spate ot floods has not taken its toll of crop and cattle. Perhaps—one likes to believe—this year will pass uneventfully, tip-toeing its way into the past . . .

Yet, even before the day's routine gathers its peak momentum, there is a flood of rumours—rumours which travel over jangled telephone lines and spread in whispers from one office-worker to another, from one harassed housewife to another, from one worldly-wise old panwala to another. The rumours speak of an enemy stealing his way across the international boundary under cover of night, of a pre-dawn raid on the unarmed attendants of a custom post on the border, of an inhuman air strike on the morning 'babu-train' bringing its customary load of office clerks, factory workers, college boys and girls from as far away as Wazirabad and Gujranwala to the throbbing heart of Lahore, and of course of the enemy meeting his doom in the bargain. Most of the rumours however remain unchecked, unconfirmed; most of the people too indulgent to put much credence into them, too peaceable to suspect any enemy, howsoever mean and low, of unprovoked, wanton aggression.

But then there is an ear-splitting thunder which rends the calmness of the September morning. What could that be? What on earth indeed? A cloud-burst? Or perhaps an explosion in a clandestine fireworks factory, the sort of thing that

Ch. Ali Akbar, Minister for Home and Kashmir Affairs, talking to the affected people in Kot Murad Khan, a locality in Kasur, which suffered heavy damage by 1,000 pound bombs dropped by the Indian Air Force

An old man chats with soldiers who captured an Indian tank

does happen in Lahore time and again?

The thousands of people, who rush out of their homes, shops, offices, overcrowding the streets already thick with traffic, hardly suspect what the noise really means: the first signal of war—a war that suddenly and treacherously crept to within a few miles of their peaceful city in the thick veil of the preceding night, a war that would soon cast its shadow on the very existence of these simple, innocent, unsuspecting people, and millions of others like them in towns, villages, cities all over the two wings of Pakistan. War, with all its horror, ugliness, brutality, stands poised at their very threshold; the sinister enemy with his time-old hatred and venom now knocks at their doors . . . . .

Feverish curiosity to know the full meaning of the thunder in the sky soon grips one and all. All over the labyrinthine alleys of the walled city, along the smartly trimmed lawns of Gulberg bungalows, astride the merrily busy Mall, people pause and question one another excitedly, strain their ears to eavesdrop on others, and wonder.

How does one react to the first news of the outbreak of a war? Do wars indeed begin like this, with a crash and a thunder but no warning or ultimatum? Doesn't a war-machine, or whatever else it is that makes wars, make any rumbling, ominous sound, a groan or a splutter, before it is geared into action? Didn't one hear of Munich, of a woe-begone Chamberlain shuttling back and forth between London and Berlin, before England and Germany got locked up in a bloody second world war?

Then, what does this mean, this flood of rumours, this crashing thunder in the calmness of the September morning?

The President's broadcast at mid-day puts an end to speculation and an official seal on the situation: we are indeed at war with India; the enemy must be crushed .. .

Lahore, Night of September, 6-7 *:*

. . . . the night is sombre and still, a thin veneer of moonshine spreads right across the city, over well-groomed hedges and tall trees, into jagged network of narrow lanes and rambling alleys. Softly it caresses the stately silent minarets of the Shahi Masjid, the broad elephant-walk stairway of the Mughal Fort. Tonight, no man-made light issues forth from the

A citizen of Lahore donating his blood at the Red Cross Centre, Queen's Road, Lahore entrails of the city dwellings. Tonight there is total blackout...

....rumble of army vehicles taking the round of the traffic island, about a hundred yards down the road; from the island radiate the highways leading to the outskirts of the city. The rumble of the motors and the wheels break the stillness of the night. Every now and then the air-raid siren and the ARP warden's shrill whistle and the heavy, hurried footsteps of the civil defence volunteers echo through the length and breadth of the street. Then the echoes die away and stillness seems to descend once again on the moontouched night—this the first night of the war.

Throughout the day air raid sirens wailed and reminded the city dwellers of the fighting on the border only a few miles away. The sirens and the constant hum and drone of the planes, like tiny animated dots in the sky; for a long, long while these were the only symbols of the war. And then as the day ended, nocturnal peace seemed to descend over the city, deceptively so. The waxing moon softly treads its way across the chosen silken-black path . . . .

But then (late in the night) heavy guns boom somewhere in the distance, boom and thunder, and boom once again, loud and clear. This is it, this is the war.

The booming goes on for minutes together, followed by long spells of suspenseful silence; but then as the head is heavy once again with sleep, there once again is the boom and thunder echoing and re-echoing, back and forth. It starts far away, somewhere towards the eastern horizon, and then rumbles across the entire expanse of the sky, remains suspended in the night for long moments, before fading away, like the dying growl of storm clouds. Yes, this is the war at last, on our very threshold.

We steal out of our beds on to the open terrace overlooking the road below. Not a soul stirs anywhere in sight, not a light anywhere to break the inky monotony of the blackout. Nothing. Nothing except the clang-clang of the heavy army vehicles taking the round of the traffice island. Not a single human voice to break the spell of the eerie silence. . .

But then, as one would like one's senses to drift with the soft, moon-laden air, the thunder of the artillery in the east rudely ruffles the mood. This indeed must be the war; those who try to snatch a few minutes' sleep are on the brink of it. . .

Shall one wake up the child, still blissfully lost in her dreams in the cosiness of her bed? Her small, wellshaped ebony head lies snugly against the pillow, the dark tresses like a crazy dark halo around her face, etched upon the pure whiteness of the bed-sheet. Shall one wake her up and whisper the dirty word, war, into her ear? Perhaps one ought to do something about it. Perhaps, one ought to abandon the flat, abandon it and go down, consult the neighbours, discuss the next move, find the best way to escape. . . But, escape to what? Oh, that is immaterial. A time must come when the stoutest of hearts must yield to panic, must clear away before the enemy overtakes you. . .

Panic? Will all this now inevitably lead to the same miserable, sordid scene enacted and re-enacted, over and over again? Must it? Jews fleeing before ruthless Nazi hordes; Arabs hunted out of their homes in the other half of Palestine; swarms of European, Burmese, Indian refugees, sahibs once, trudging all the way across the marshes and swamps of Burma and Arakan, losing themselves in the vice and vicissitudes of Calcutta; lakhs of Muslims uprooted, hunted out of their parental abodes in Delhi, East Punjab, Bihar, Kashmir, and God knows where else; fugitives with the shadow of terror, genocide, death, on their faces; jig-saw pieces of a prolonged, agonising nightmare—will it be the same thing over and over again?

But the child suddenly woken by her mother opens her sleep-heavy eyes for a few moments only; there is no fear or even suspicion of a fear in these clear, crystal, sparkling eyes. What is it, mother? Ah yes; of course I can hear it. Anybody can hear the guns. After all we are at war, aren't we? So, what. . . . .Then sleep overtakes the child once again. Perhaps one can not after all run away from it all. Perhaps there is more courage in this young heart than one cares to credit it with. . .

....so, the child sleeps on, and the grown ups are left sitting silent in the night, to hear the flutter of their own hearts, to start at every rising echo of the guns, to brood over

A class in progress at a First Aid Training Course, organised by the West Pakistan Branch of APWA in Lahore

Warm clothes and woollen garments being collected by the Mother's Association in Dacca for the Kashmir Mujahids

imaginary convoys of imaginary fugitives struggling to get across the Ravi bridge. . .

Across the Ravi bridge, and then what? The thin knife-edge of the border chases you everywhere, all along your prospective path of escape: Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Chenab, Gujrat, and on to Jhelum. Everywhere the border haunts you; it is always only a few miles away. And there is fighting on the border. So, you can be breathless and exhausted in your bid to escape and still not elude the war. Perhaps, there is only one way to rid of the fear and the enemy : to meet them face to face, and to deal them blow for blow.

More rumble of guns towards the eastern horizon; more wailing of air raid sirens. More clang-clang of army vehicles going round the traffic roundabout. The night wanes steadily, but surely. The eastern sky will soon be aglow with the first stab of the sun; the booming of guns will at last be muffled, lost in the happy crescendo of morning voices. . .

Lahore, 7th September :

Morning. Morning, at last. . .

Contrary to what one imagined, there are no convoys of refugees, no swarms of helpless women and children running like any other, business-like, hopeful. Buses rattle along crowded streets already choked with traffic; vendors outshout one another; clouds of flies chase sweet-sellers and unsuspecting children sucking at lollypops and ice-candies. Only an occasional limousine with hurriedly packed leather suitcases piled up on top races towards the bridge. But this limousine and the expensive suitcases do not really belong here; they must be the tourists or professional outsiders who belong nowhere, nomads in search of the void. . .

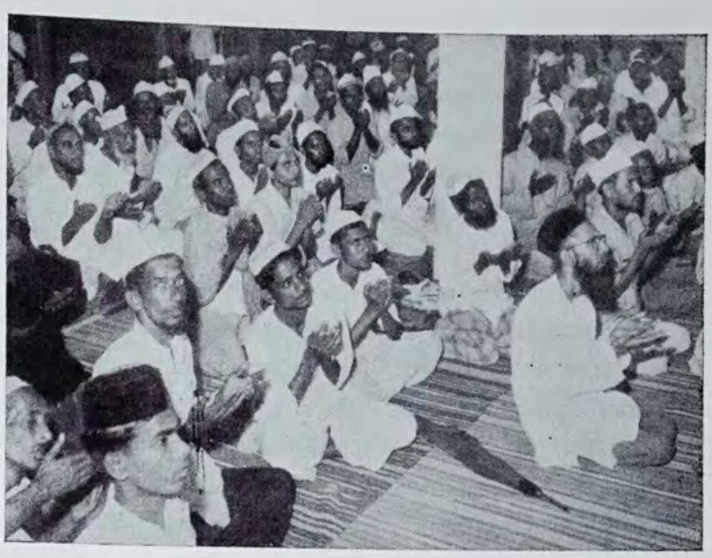
Lahore, 9th September :

Long convoys of army vehicles, covered with camouflage paint or netting, converge on to the traffic island and then disperse into various highways leading out of the city, to Barki to Kasur, to Wagah, to Ferozpur; the enemy must be crushed on all fronts.

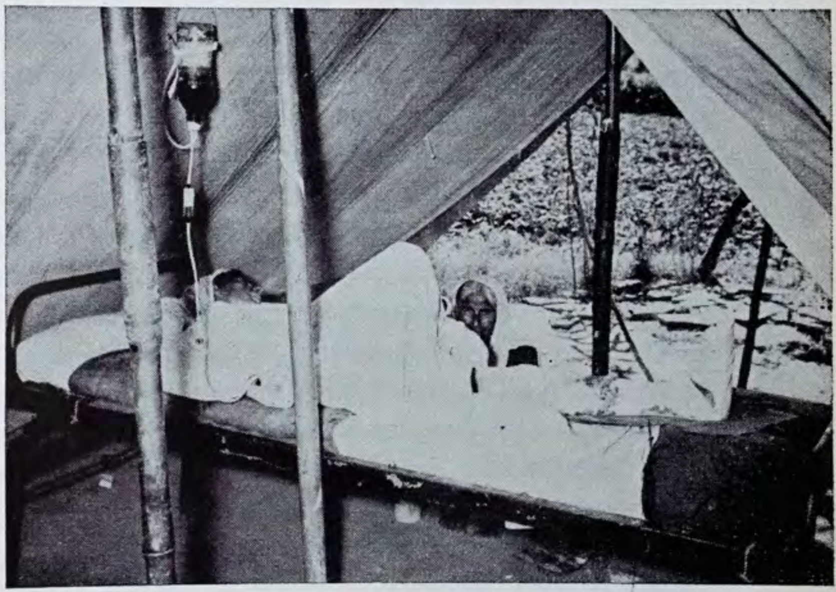
Military policemen in jeeps patrol the honeycomb of streets and lanes spread around the traffic island. They make long pauses at the roundabout itself. Vehicles rattle past them at an even pace. Men sit erect in jeeps and trucks, in full battle attire, sten-guns and rifles slung from their shoulders, ammunition pouches bulging with their deadly load. . . .

There are jostling crowds of people along the convoy routes; they are thickest at the roundabout. It is like this throughout the day whenever a convoy passes. Men, women and children stand in bunches on the roadsides, stand, shout slogans, and cheer, all the time. Nobody asks them to leave their homes or their business to to come out to cheer up the soldiers. They come out on their own and stand merrily on the sidewalks, with armfuls of marigold garlands and trays of coca-cola bottles. They follow a vehicle full of soldiers as it comes within sight, throw marigold garlands to the jawans (the soldiers), stretch out their arms to offer them ice-cold coca-cola. The soldiers smile back shyly. . .

Sometimes a bunch of scooter-riders follows the army vehicles for a long distance, till they come to a point when



Prayer for victory at the Baitul-Mukarram Mosque, Dacca



A casualty of indiscriminate shelling

the soldiers must be left to themselves to go forward. Snatches of martial songs and patriotic *taranas* burst forth from transistor radios, all the while, songs which speak of the warrior riding proudly to the battlefield, of the victorious returning home triumphantly, of the lives laid down at the threshold of Allah, of the dead who will live for ever. The rippling, lilting, sonorous voices keep singing for ever; marigold flowers rest softly in the laps of rugged jawans. The convoys roll on endlessly. . .

Lahore, 10th September :

. . . .the convoys roll on. . .

Business is indeed as usual in the motley circle of shops around the traffic island. No slackening of pace. The ice merchant dumps breathing slabs of ice into the back of a slow moving army truck, like a school boy playing a prank upon his companion, and smiles impishly as the surprised jawans hastily offer him money which he promptly refuses. The convoy rolls on. . .

The aging panwala with a fancy signboard hanging over his head sits at his stall wrapped up in his thoughts; there have been no consignments of betel leaves received from the other wing for the past so many days. Yet, he is not sad or dismal, just lost in his thoughts. Young college boys screech their scooters to a halt at his stall, as they have been doing ever since there has been a pan-and-cigarette shop at this roundabout. They light up their clandestine cigarettes, smile mischievously at the panwala, and leave on his counter a tip much larger than they had ever done in the past. They are gone before the panwala can even sort out his confused thoughts, for they have to be on the trail of that convoy rolling on towards the border, for as long as they are not turned back by the officers. . . .

Young college girls, old burqa clad women, bearded old men returning from the mosque at the corner, pause at the roadside as a convoy slows down to go round the roundabout, look wistfully at the jawans jostling past them, murmur prayers under their breath. Hands which tremble with excitement hand over to the jawans tiny parcels containing *sura-e-yaseen*, verses from the Holy Book, printed on illuminated sheets of paper, or pocket editions of Quran. They know these gifts will shield all believers going to the battlefield, blunt the enemy's deadliest weapon. . . .

Immaculately clad, Elvis-crazy teen-age girls, who have never so much as moved a little finger to help with the household chores, now forget their next date at the movies and instead flock to the nearest ARP centre, first aid training post, nursing class at the local hospital. They eagerly learn how to lead others less trained than themselves in the art of firing a rifle; they learn how to clean up a gaping wound, how to mitigate the hysteria of a dying man; they learn how to lie prone in dust and make others do the same when the enemy planes come over head; they learn how to revive a shell-shocked child. They miss their dates, spend hours on end taking notes at the lectures and classes, become breathless repeating the strenuous ARP practices. Yet they do all this unasked, with a smile. They know they will be there when neighbours need them; they will be there when the war wounded are brought back from the battlefield, like the kith and kin of the Prophet and His companions several centuries ago. .

Rawalpindi, 13th September :

War in 'Pindi has a more businesslike look.

In Lahore the whole thing was treated stoically, like a huge battle of wits. Lahore-ites know full well that no adversary can ever have the better of them in a battle like this. They couldn't possibly be more sure of themselves. That is why they gathered merrily on the sidewalks, to cheer up the soldiers going to the battlefield, or exchange amongst themsleves the latest gossip about how the war was going, and shouted flippant imprecations as the enemy plane got locked in a grim dog-fight with our own planes right over their heads, sent up raucous whoopees of joy when the enemy was shot out of the sky. They knew it had to be the enemy. They knew that their Shalimar, their Shahi Masjid, their Anarkali and Lohari, their Data Gunj Bakhsh and their Madho Lal Husain, their Chowk Safanwala and their Kim's gun are all inevitably, eternally invincible and no enemy hand could pollute them. . .

But Rawalpindi treats the war in a more businesslike manner, with obvious bureaucratic efficiency, a supremely important job which has got to be done, and done well. No letting up or slackening of pace. And that's all.

A sense of urgency grips every one, high and low, civil servants, army commanders, war correspondents, diplomats, businessmen, shopkeepers, one and all. The blackout and the air raid warnings too are treated with much greater seriousmindedness: there is the siren and the warden's whistle and the place for you, your wife, your children, your aging mother-in-law, every boy, is in the shelter. (In Lahore one tended to sneer at any suggestion to take shelter ; one only

Foreign correspondents in a forward area

instinctively looked up when the siren blew, with curiosity to know whether it was your own plane, or the enemy's that was streaking overhead).

. . . . the little boy who was woken up when the siren sounded in the middle of the night is still only half awake. He sits hunched up in the shelter, his fingers plugging his ears, as he has been told to do by his air-force officer uncle. He sits there dozing with his teenage sisters, his tiny cousin with pigtails, his mother, his father, and his asthmatic grandmother beside him. Do you know what to do when the bombs start to fall? Yes, of course, I do. Can you hear the 'planes'? This is not the 'planes', you silly, this is our guns shooting at the enemy. Oh really, how do you know ? I know, can't I hear the noise ? The little boy knows so much for his age . . .

The little girl with pigtails looks at him in the darkness with a mixed feeling of pride and envy : how does he know all this ? She shifts in her porch and picks up a handful of dust ; the dust has its own brittle taste. The little boy giggles; air-raid time is always the time for her to eat dust. The little girl feels mad ; why should he always giggle and give her secret out ? She must do something about it, argue with him, tell aunty where he buried his latest toy car . . . . .

shsh . . . shsh . . . the asthmatic grandmother admonishes the children, all the while mumbling something under her breath. This is not the time to fight ; this is the time to pray to God and ask His forgiveness for all your Sins. The little boy sniggers to himself ; the little girl knows why : simply because she has not yet been able to learn her prayers by heart, and he knows so much . . .

You know your prayers, don't you ? The mother wants to show off a bit, or perhaps wants to distract herself and others from the mounting tension of an air raid ; the planes unload their fatal cargo somewhere in the night ; the ack-ack barks ; the dynamite spreads its acrid smell in the air. The little boy sitting hunched in the shelter, with his little fingers still tightly plugging his ears, starts off without any further prodding: *Al-hamd O li-Allah-i-Rabb-il-Alameen* . . . his voice is tiny and soft like dewdrops on flower petals. . .

Army Jawans at a welfare centre put up by West Pakistan Youth movement and the Red Cross Society at Manawan village near Lahore

یہ جہان چیز ہے کیا لوح و قلم تیرے

Will the acrid smell of the cordite eat up the sweet smell of flowers ? Will a blazing 500-pound bomb vomitted by some loathsome flying machine, burn the glitter of the dewdrops ? Will it always be like this ? Tracer bullets streaking along a blinking path in the darkness . . .

The moon shines uncomfortably bright in the mid-puddle at the edge of the shelter ; this puddle has a tell-tale luminosity. Will it help the enemy locate a target ? Will the loathsome, sinister flying machine blot out the moon in this puddle ? It might not. There goes the all clear . . .

The tense ritual is repeated night after night. In the morning the husky voice on the radio dutifully reports the news . . .

Rawalpindi, 15th September

The fat, hairy Welshman, who fought as a tail-gunner in the Battle of Britain during the second world war and now dons the uniform of a war correspondent, scrambles out of the ditch. He is a messy sight, his khaki trousers soaking with ditch-water and filth. He comes out of the ditch and frantically shakes his clenched fists in the air, striking at an invisible adversary, blaspheming at the void above. Blast you, so-and-so, why the hell can't you aim before you fire ? why do you fight a war when you haven't the guts to ? He clenches his teeth in mock anger and throws curses on the track of the enemy Gnats now gone out of sight. Actually he always feels mad at professional incompetence, and the enemy fliers were worse than incompetent. This is what happened : the enemy spotted a military convoy snailing along the country path close to the forward area and came overhead to strike at it. The Welshman's jeep along with the jeeps of several other newspaper reporters on their way to cover the story at the front, was caught in the convoy and he and his colleagues were forced to take shelter in a ditch. Then the enemy planes came overhead and every body expected them to score direct hits. But the crew of a machine gun mounted on a vehicle in the convoy calmly went into action ; they trained the gun at the foremost enemy' plane and let go. The enemy hastily pulled up and beat a retreat. It happened once, twice, three times, a single machine gun engaging four deadly Gnats.

The war correspondents drawn from all over the world gather in the briefing room in the afternoons, like chattering typewriters. Most of them have seen other wars, in Europe, in Congo, in Korea, in Viet Nam, in Cyprus, but they all agree that they have never seen bloodier action. Occasionally the correspondents are taken on a tour of the forward areas and they come back after shedding all their preconceived notions about war. They hammer away at their typewriters all the while, for they had never heard of a war like this : the enemy sneaks in at night ; yet only to be thrashed and pushed back ; an emaciated looking aviator bags five enemy

Continued on page 128

President Ayub Khan addressing the nation on September 6, 1965, after the sneak Indian attack on Pakistan at Lahore and Wazirabad in the early hours of the morning

INDIA'S AGG

PROF. G. W. CHOUDHURY

Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University, author of "Democracy in Pakistan"

THE warlords of India committed treacherous, unprovoked and naked aggression against the smaller neighbour, Pakistan, when the Indian Army crossed the international boundary of Pakistan at Lahore on the morning of September 6, 1965, without a warning or a formal declaration of war. It is hard to find another example of such mean and barbaric action on the part of a larger country against its smaller neighbour. Since the signing of the United Nations Charter in 1945, it was perhaps the blackest and the most serious threat to the principles and spirit of the Charter. India's naked aggression against Pakistan was the culmination of its policy of hostility since Pakistan came into being.

EVIL DESIGNS

Refusal to give Pakistan her legitimate and agreed share of partition assets, occupation of Pakistan territory in defiance of international commitments and obligations, concentration of troops along Pakistan's borders on numerous occasions without provocation, encouragement of subversive activities in Pakistan, and similar other actions have persistently characterised India's policy towards Pakistan. Since the beginning of this year Pakistan has been subjected to an organised campaign of vilification designed to prepare the ground for planned and premeditated attack by the Indian armed forces to grab Pakistani territory. Indian military adventures in Dahagram and in the Rann of Kutch were the beginning of India's warlike activities against Pakistan. As Pakistan pointed out in a

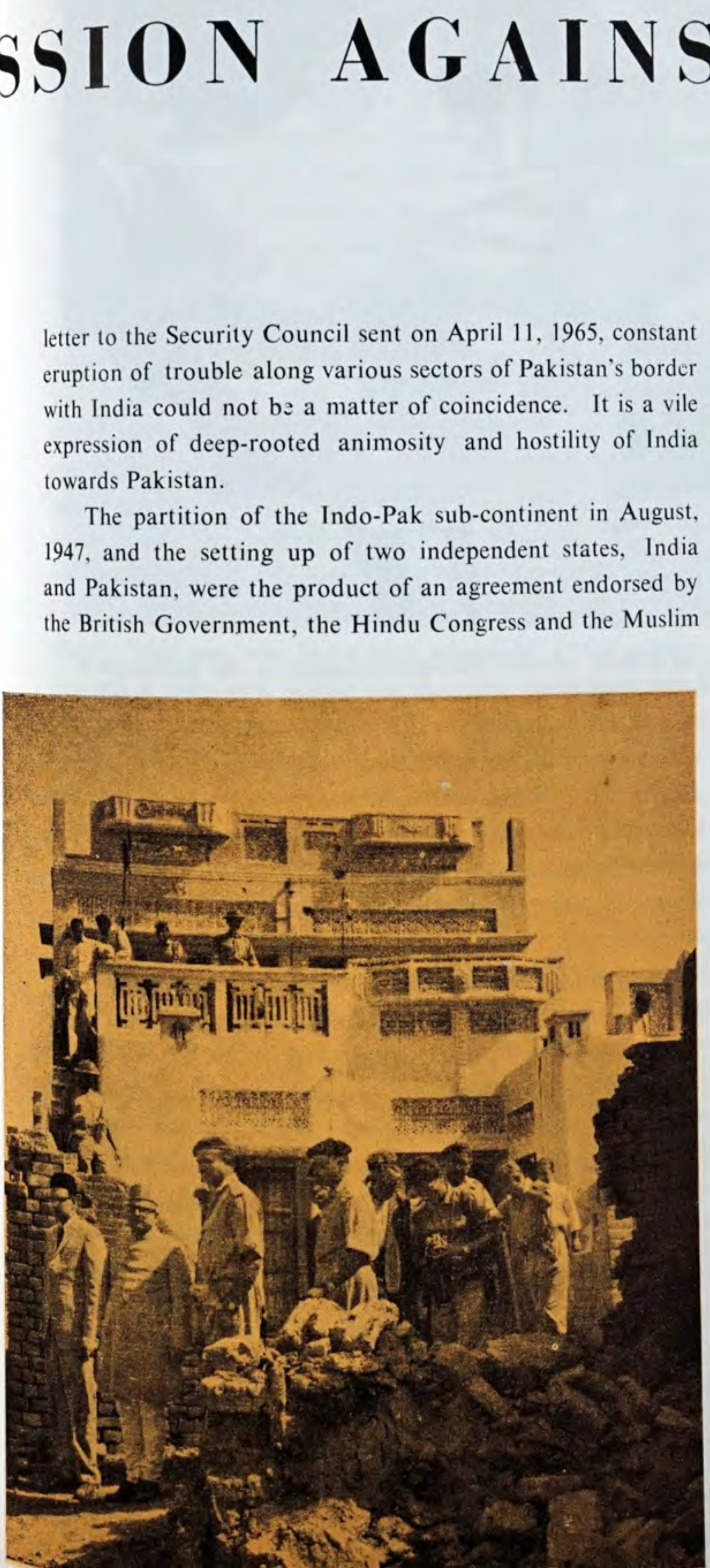
SSION AGAINST PAKISTAN

letter to the Security Council sent on April 11, 1965, constant eruption of trouble along various sectors of Pakistan's border with India could not be a matter of coincidence. It is a vile expression of deep-rooted animosity and hostility of India towards Pakistan.

The partition of the Indo-Pak sub-continent in August, 1947, and the setting up of two independent states, India and Pakistan, were the product of an agreement endorsed by the British Government, the Hindu Congress and the Muslim League. But the Indian ruling class never lived up to their commitments and solemn undertakings freely made at the time of transfer of power in 1947. They were determined to crush the new State of Pakistan at any cost.

AUCHINLECK EXPOSES INDIA

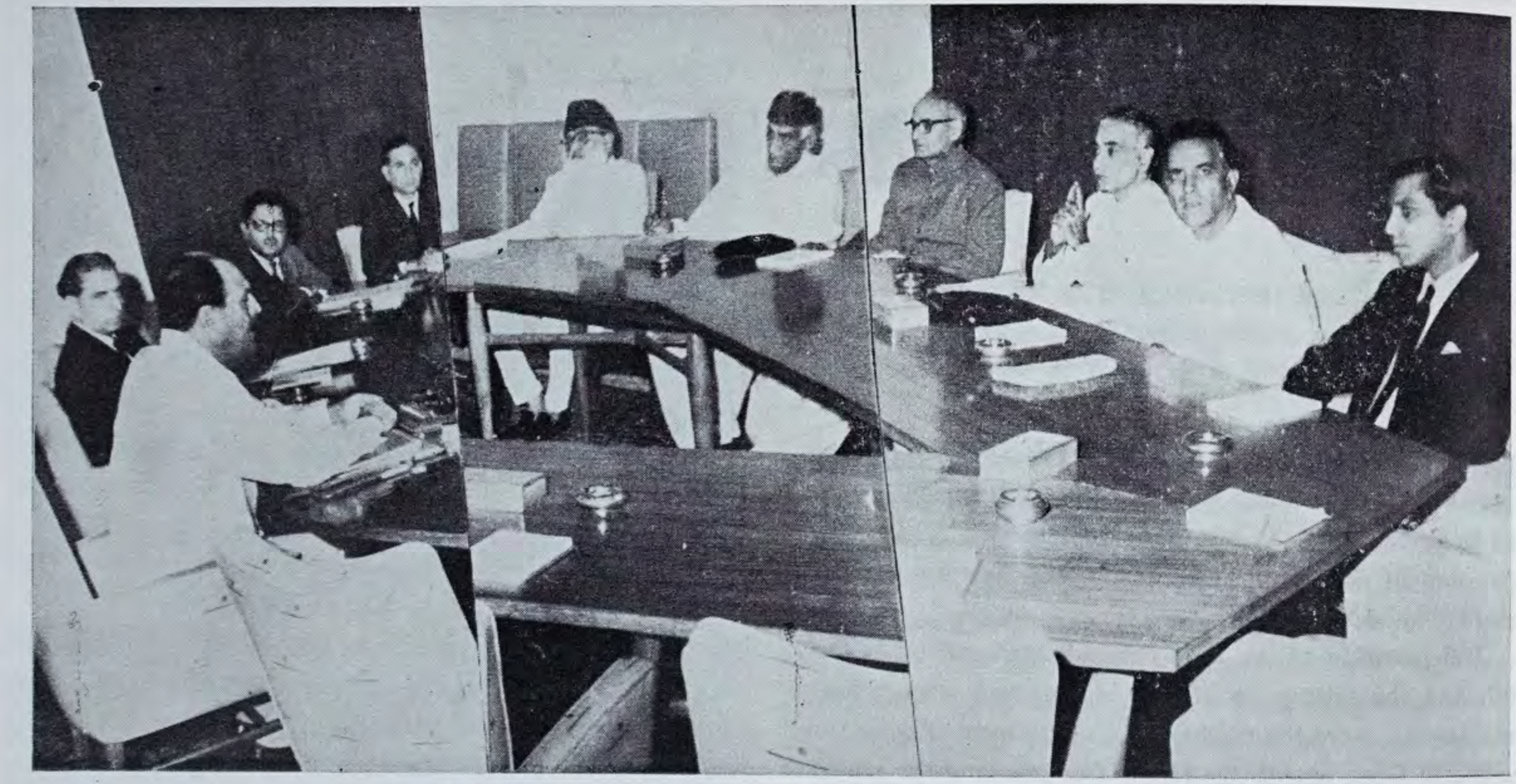
Six weeks after the transfer of power, Field-Marshal Auchinleck, Supreme Commander of Joint Defence Council, wrote in a despatch to the then British Prime Minister : "As soon as British authority was withdrawn, they (the Indians) disregarding solemn obligations which they had freely incurred, and reckless of the true interests of their country, sought only to consolidate and extend the power which they had obtained. Even the fundamental responsibilities of Government—to bring to an end civil war, slaughter and destruction and to restore law and order—they regarded as of secondary importance. What mattered to them above all else, was to cripple and thwart the establishment of Pakistan as a viable, independent nation . . . I have no hesitation whatever in affirming that the present Indian Cabinet are implacably determined to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of the Dominion of Pakistan on a firm basis. In this, I am supported by the unanimous opinion of my senior officers".



Mr. Abdul Jabbar Khan, Speaker of the National Assembly, visiting some of the bombed civilian quarters of Lahore, in the company of Ch. M. Anwar, Speaker of the West Pakistan Assembly (extreme left)

COMMUNAL RIOTS

Although communal riots took place both in India and Pakistan after the transfer of power in 1947, it is now conceded by every impartial writer and commentator that communal riots in India were of much more serious nature than in Pakistan. In India, it was state-planned and organised human slaughter in which thousands of Muslims were killed and million were driven out of their homes. On September 26, 1947, the great Indian leader, Mr. Gandhi declared : "If Pakistan persistently refused to see its proven error, and continued to minimise it, the Indian Government would have to go to war against it." The great apostle of non-violence had no hesitation in threatening violence against the weak and smaller neighbour !



President Ayub Khan in conference with the leaders of the opposition parties, all of whom extended whole-hearted support to the Government in the war effort during the national emergency

On January 15, 1950, the Indian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Patel, made a highly inflamatory speech in Calcutta urging the Bengali Hindus not to forget the "Direct Action" in Calcutta (1946) and "the tragedy of Noakhali". He added, "Those (Hindus of East Pakistan) who were with us yesterday have become foreigners today. But how can that be in practice ? They are still what they were before". Referring to the partition of India, Mr. Patel declared, "Artificial boundaries cannot separate them (East Pakistani Hindus) from us". The immediate result of Mr. Patel's speech was large-scale killing of the Muslim minority in West Bengal. When by way of repurcussions one or two minor riots took place in East Pakistan, India's Prime Minister Pandit Nehru had no hesitation in threatening "police action" in East Pakistan. Nehru made a proposal that the representatives of International Red Cross should visit the riot affected areas, and warned, if the methods suggested to Pakistan were not accepted, "it may be that we shall have to adopt other methods".

Commenting on Nehru's dismal threat, the New York *Times* pointed out "What is surprising about Nehru's sombre threat is that it should be made by a leader who adopted neutrality as his policy in the world's struggle. It is understandable that the successor of Gandhi should believe in passive resistance but not that he should expect it to work with the Soviet Union when he admits that it does not work with Pakistan".

BRINKMANSHIP *VS.* STATESMANSHIP

Nehru's threat of "police action" created a situation which was aptly described by Ian Stephens in his *Horned Moon*: "By the first week of March, whatever Delhi's intentions, war had nearly come ; the two countries were within a hair's-breadth of it. Troops had been moved, not only in Bengal but—more perturbingly—in the Punjab. India's armoured division, to which no real Pakistani counterpart existed, was pushed forward in a way which threatened Lahore". It was Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, who saved the situation. He rushed to New Delhi. The result of his negotiations was the Liaquat-Nehru Pact, which aimed at protecting religious minorities in the two countries. Pakistan has most faithfully followed the letter and the spirit of the Pact ; and there has not been one single communal riot in Pakistan since 1950. On the other hand, there has hardly been one single year when in secular India Muslims have not been killed.

Again in July, 1951, India concentrated 90 per cent of its army on the borders of Pakistan. This was disclosed by the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, at a Press Conference on July 15. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that the bulk of the Indian Armed Forces had been concentrated on the Pakistan border constituting a great threat to Pakistan and the world peace. He also disclosed that India's entire armoured formations had been moved forward within striking distance of Pakistan. A larger portion of the Indian Armed Forces were concentrated in East Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir. Mr. Nehru in his reply to Mr. Liaquat's charges tried to impress that India had no intention of attacking Pakistan.

NEHRU'S HYPOCRISY SPOTLIGHTED

At the same time, the most significant point in Mr. Nehru's statement of July 18, 1951, was his admission that "there have been movements of Indian Army units in order to give full security to our frontier areas." The *Daily Express* of London published Mr. Nehru's statement with the following comment, "Nehru's answer 'lies', then admits troops are on the border". The London *Times* also pointed out that Nehru had admitted the movements of the Indian Army units. There was no justification or provocation for these concentrations of Indian troops on Pakistan's border. India could offer no explanation for these war-like activities against Pakistan, except that there was talk of 'Jehad' against India in Pakistan. Nehru also made a wild allegation about the activities of British military advisers and officers in Pakistan. To this charge, even the pro-Indian British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, had to say there was no truth in the Indian Prime Minister's recent charge against British Army officers in Pakistan. Mr. Attlee added, "I greatly regret that Mr. Nehru should have lent the weight of his authority to such unfounded allegations". Any one who had a little knowledge of the military strength of India and Pakistan at that time would have found Mr. Nehru's reference to the talk of 'Jehad' in Pakistan as wholly inadequate. India had all the pre-partition arsenals and ammunition factories, and maintained much larger armies. The argument that India made troop movements because there was talk of war in Pakistan, was most unconvincing. The real intention of the Indian Government was to annul the partition and to liquidate Pakistan.

PAKISTAN'S PEACE PROPOSAL REJECTED

For the restoration of peaceful atmosphere and the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries, the then Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, made a Five-Point peace proposal which provided, firstly, the withdrawal of troop concentrations from the borders; secondly, urged both the Governments to denounce the use of force in the settlement of any dispute, and thirdly, to refer such disputes to arbitration if they were not resolved by negotiation or mediation. Mr. Liaquat Ali's proposals also referred to the obligation under-taken by both the Governments under the Delhi Agreement of April, 1950, wherein "they shall not permit propaganda directed against the territorial integrity of the other, or purporting to incite war between them". Mr. Nehru could not accept Mr. Liaquat Ali's proposal for peace. He, as usual, professed India's desire for peace but refused to take any concrete steps to establish friendly relations. Nehru's rejection of Liaquat's Five-Point peace offer created an explosive situation in the Indo-Pak sub-continent. Armed forces of India and Pakistan were ranged against each other on the hot plains of the Punjab and along hundreds of miles of mountain truce lines in Kashmir. Commenting on Mr. Nehru's rejection of Mr. Liaquat Ali's peace proposal, the *Times* (London) said, "Mr. Nehru preaches peace. No body doubts that these sentiments are an honest expression of Mr. Nehru's conviction. The real difficulty is that whenever he is asked by Pakistan, or for that matter, by a mediator working for the Security Council, to translate them into positive action, his own interpretation seems to come in the way". The *Times* further added, "Last year, in 1950, he invited Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to join him in a declaration that disputes between India and Pakistan must be settled peacefully. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was willing to do this but he wanted to give positive meaning to the declaration by embodying in it a plan for the settlement of all outstanding differences by negotiation, reference to judicial bodies and, in the last resort, by arbitration. But Mr. Nehru did not agree".

DUAL STANDARD OF MORALITY

India's rejection of Liaquat Ali's peace offer in 1951 was typical of her dual standard of morality. India has employed two standards of international morality and ethics—one for preaching inside and outside the United Nations and in her dealings with bigger States, and the other—which is mainly based on violence, subversion and pressure—is reserved for smaller neighbours. The London *Observer* commenting on this dual standard of Indian morality said in its editorial on November 4, 1962, "Indian people often seem to have had a double standard—indignantly anti-imperialistic abroad, but quite ready to apply a little imperialsim within their own historic frontiers". The same fact has been stressed by Dr. Wilcox, in his latest book *India, Pakistan and Rise of China* when he said, "To the world and on world issues India was the dove of peace, whereas within the region she stood accused of power politics. . . . Within its region India manifested the legacy of the British and the normal aspirations of a large country".

INDIA NEVER RECONCILED TO PARTITION

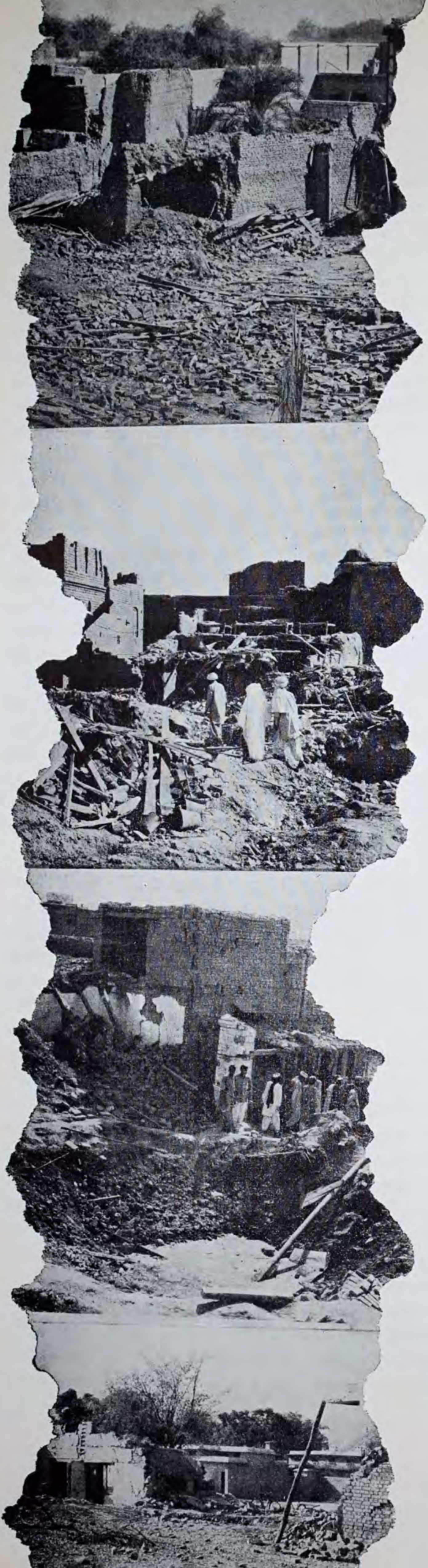
The Indian leaders had never reconciled themselves to the creation of Pakistan. They hoped that it would prove to be a temporary phase and that Pakistan would soon be absorbed by India. On the very first day of Indian Independence, the Indian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Patel, had expressed the hope and confidence that "sooner or later we shall again be united in common allegiance to our country". The temporary nature of Partition and the unreality of the separation was also suggested by Nehru in his Independence Day Message, 1947.

The President of the Indian Congress said on the 15th of August, 1947, "Neither the Congress nor the nation has given up the claim of united India". Another Indian Minister declared "The territories that today constitute the dominion of Pakistan are and would continue to remain an integral part of India in spite of the partition. The division is temporary and I feel sure that a day will come, sooner or later, when Pakistan would become a part of India".

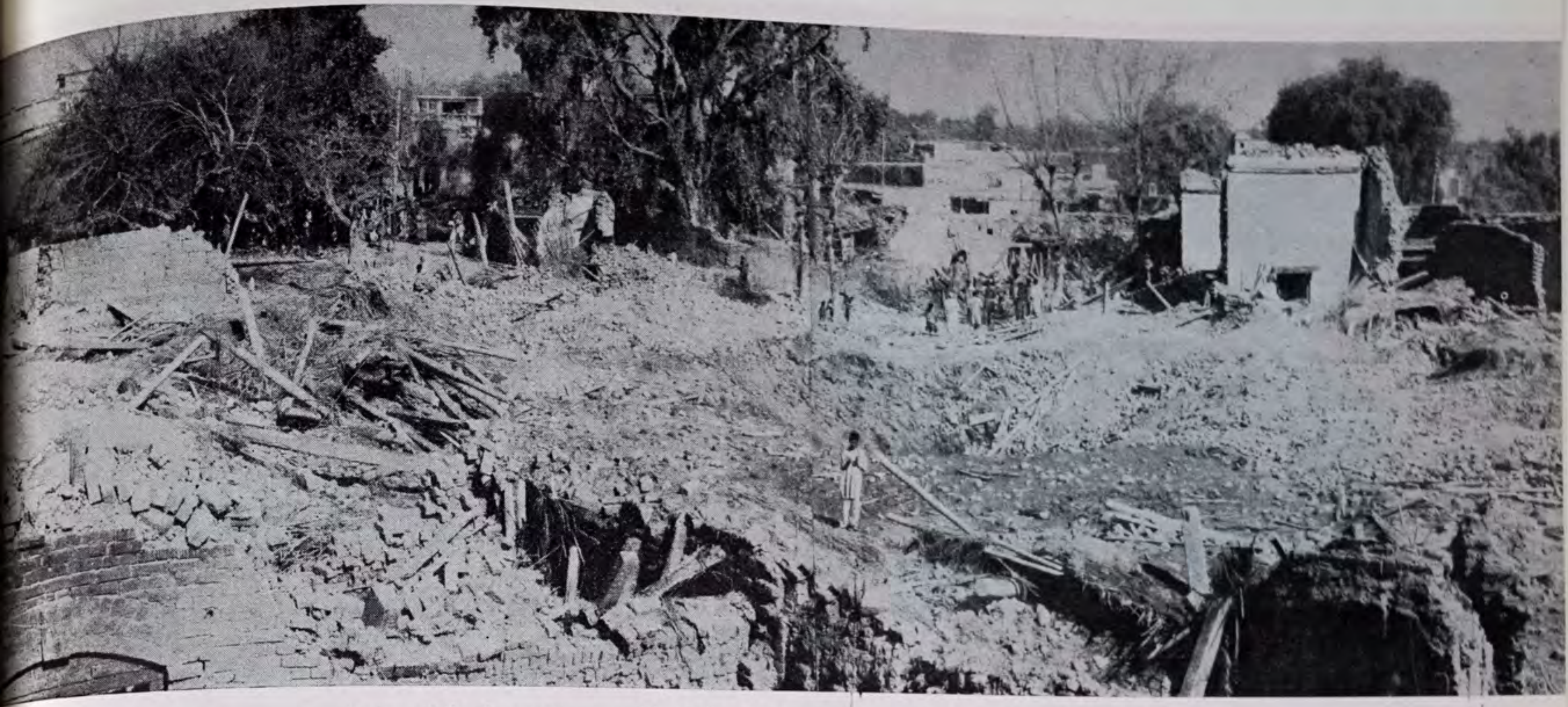
A White Paper published by the Government of Pakistan in August, 1951, gave a full account of the war hysteria in India. It had shown by quoting from papers, books, statements of Indian leaders, and broadcasts from All India Radio how war hysteria was nourished in India, and also exposed India's plan to carry war "into the granary of the Punjab and the jute fields of East Pakistan".

The Government of Pakistan as well as impartial foreign scholars have not failed to notice India's war hysteria against Pakistan. Thus reputed British author, Ian Stephens, wrote: "In the average Hindu heart even now after years of the mutually accepted partition, Pakistan as an Independent State had no real right to exist. She must not devise a foreign policy of her own. Her destiny was to be an Indian satellite". Mr. Stephens referred to India's expansionist designs and "of her wish in due time to reunite the holy soil of Bharat Mata by force if need be and regardless of international law". Another foreign observer, Professor Kieth Callard of McGill University, pointed out "Many Indians continue to regard Pakistan as a tragic mistake which might be corrected at least so far as East Bengal is concerned". Professor Hudson of Oxford University in his article in *Soviet Survey* (published in London, June 1957) also referred to this fact, that "antipathy to Pakistan is the pivot of Indian foreign policy".

Not only foreign scholars but the Indians have themselves admitted this cardinal aspect of their foreign policy. Thus Mr. S.R. Patel in his *Foreign Policy of India* wrote, "The creation of Pakistan is a major threat to the safety of India. It will be demanded of constructive diplomacy to strike for the annulment of this partition, when alone can India emerge as a great power—militarily, strategically, economically, historically, culturally and geographically. Reunion of the nation is imperative."



Scenes of Indian vandalism in civilian areas of Pakistani cities



A view of the devastation caused by Indian Canberras at Landi Arbab on the outskirts of Peshawar

CHINESE BOGEY EXPLOITED

India's chauvinistic militarism received great impetus in recent years as a result of her huge military build up since the Sino-Indian border clashes of 1962. India exploited the China bogey fully within the orbit of U.S. global strategy. With the help of Western arms aid which she received since 1962, India added six Army divisions within a brief period of one year, and plans to raise five more divisions to have an Army of 21 Divisions. She equipped her Air Force with transport air-craft, and sophisticated electronic equipment. The Indian Air Force is being equipped with the best of sub-sonic fighters and MIG-21 supersonic fighters. India is trying hard to get Western supersonic fighters also, and in this regard she has entered into negotiations with the American Lockheed Aircraft Corporation for production of supersonic fighters. Further, the U.S.A. was reported to have undertaken to supply sophisticated high power radar equipment for the use of fighter aircraft of the Indian Air Force. Already some mobile radar stations have been provided; more are expected, which would provide radar coverage over the whole of Northern India (including most of West Pakistan and the whole of East Pakistan). India is also trying to expand her Navy. Her aim is to have a naval fleet capable of controlling the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea, and the Bay of Bengal, so that she may establish her influence in the countries flanking these seas. She is also planning to set up six new Ordnance Factories to boost up her defence production potential.

The Indian Armed build up is far in excess of its requirements for meeting a possible threat from China. The Indian attempt to play up the bogey of the threat from China is a clever manoeuvre to build up its armed might.

PRESIDENT AYUB'S TIMELY NOTICE

When this massive Western arms aid continued to flow to India, President Ayub drew the attention of the big powers to the great potential threats of such military build up in India, a country that always wants to settle its disputes with its smaller neighbours by force.

The Western arms aid to India, as pointed out by President Ayub, instead of bringing peace and stability to this sub-continent, had greatly aggravated the Pakistan-Indian bitterness, heightened their mutual fear, and forced on them an arms race that could be disastrous for both the countries. The recent Indian aggression is the result of this military aid. India's militant attitude has been greatly encouraged by massive arms aid from the Western countries. Today India is showing a real militant attitude because of her sense of strength due to the continued flow of arms. This seriously disturbed the peace of this region.

TWO DIFFERENT IDEOLOGIES

India's President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, told the world that the struggle over Kashmir was not a fight for a piece of land but for two principles and ideologies. Of course, it is a fight for two ideologies; we only wish to add that India stands for neo-imperialism, expansionism, and negation of human rights while Pakistan stands for justice, the right of self-determination, and freedom from foreign domination. The verdict of history is that the forces of justice and freedom always win; so Pakistan shall be victorious in this struggle for freedom and justice against the Indian warlords and imperialists.

THE ORDEAL OF KASHMIR

ITA'AT HUSAIN

Former Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan

"HISTORY was not set in motion," says Tolstoy, "by Napoleon or any other ruler or general. War and revolutions and kings are history's organic agents. Revolutions break out, willy-nilly. Every one goes two revolutions—his own and the general one. Every one is revived, reborn, changed and transformed. These private individual revolutions flow into the sea of life, the sea of spontaneity—and people decide to experience it, not in books and pictures, but in themselves, not in an abstraction, but in practice".

This is what we are witnessing in Kashmir. A revolution has broken out there like a sigh suppressed too long. It is the result of an historical process working in the life of Kashmiri society, and bringing about an invisible transformation. The same phenomenon we saw at the time of the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan. The latest Indo-Pakistan war is also the direct result of the same process. Ayub is history's organic agent as were Jinnah and Napoleon. Only the mole-eyed will ascribe the revolution in Kashmir to a few individuals and call them infiltrators. This relentless, inexorable revolution cannot be stemmed by any means, not even by the atom bomb which India proposes to manufacture for the purpose.

PARTITION OF SUB-CONTINENT

What are the causes of this transformation? The history is as follows:

The basis of partition announced by the British Prime Minister on June 3, 1947, was that Pakistan would comprise contiguous Muslim majority areas of the sub-continent, and India would comprise contiguous non-Muslim majority areas. The States ruled by Indian rulers, had the choice of acceding to India or to Pakistan, as they might desire. They had to consider many factors, such as geographical position. There were states in which the ruler was a Muslim and the majority of the people were non-Muslims, and vice versa such as Kashmir, Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kapurthala. In Kashmir and Kapurthala the ruler was a Hindu, in Junagadh and Hyderabad he was a Muslim. In Kapurthala the question of accession did not arise because the whole of the 61 per cent Muslim population was either murdered or driven out of the State, during the tragedy that overtook the Punjab, so that no Muslims were left to raise the question of accession.

According to India, the principle to be applied in determining whether states like Kashmir, Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kapurthala should accede to India or Pakistan was that the suzerainty formerly exercised by the British was to vest in the people, and that, therefore, any decision regarding accession had to be taken by the people of the State.

INDIA EXPLAINS BASIS OF PARTITION

The Indian representative in the Security Council, in 1948, Mr. Ayyangar, explained it as follows:—

"The Government of India are firmly of the view that whatever sovereign rights are diverted to these states on the lapse of paramountcy, they vest in the people, and conditions must be created in every state for a free and unfettered exercise of these rights".

This official pronouncement is also contained in the White Paper on Hyderabad issued by the Government of India on August 10, 1948.

On March 8, 1948, the Indian representative, Mr. Ayyangar, further stated in the Security Council :

"No doubt the ruler, as the Head of the State has to take action in respect of accession. When he and his people are in agreement as to the Dominion to which they should accede, he applies for accession to that Dominion. However, when he takes one view and his people take another view, the wishes of the people have to be ascertained. When so ascertained, the ruler has to take action in accordance with the verdict of the people. This is our position".

It will not be out of place here to quote Mr. Nehru's telegram of November 8, 1947, in which he set out various proposals for resolving the Kashmir dispute. Paragraph 10 of the telegram reads:

"It will thus be seen that our proposals, which we have repeatedly stated, are: (1) that the Government of Pakistan should publicly undertake to do their utmost to compel the raiders to withdraw from Kashmir; (2) that the Government of India should repeat their declaration that they will withdraw their troops from Kashmir soil as soon as the raiders have withdrawn and law and order are restored; (3) that the Government of India and Pakistan should make a joint request to the United Nations to undertake a plebiscite in Kashmir at the earliest possible date".

REVOLT IN KASHMIR

In August, 1947, the people of the State in certain parts of Kashmir revolted against the Maharajah because of their fear that the Maharajah was inclined to accede to India. His troops clashed with the people and the freedom movement spread against him. The London "Times" summarised the origin of the trouble in the following words:

"In the remaining Dogra area 237,000 Muslims were systematically exterminated, unless they escaped to Pakistan along the border, by the Dogra State Forces, headed by the Maharajah in person and aided by Hindus and Sikhs. This elimination of two thirds of the Muslim population of Jammu Province has entirely changed the present composition of the eastern Jammu province".

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who made a deep impression by the skill and sincerity with which he advocated the case of Pakistan in the Security Council

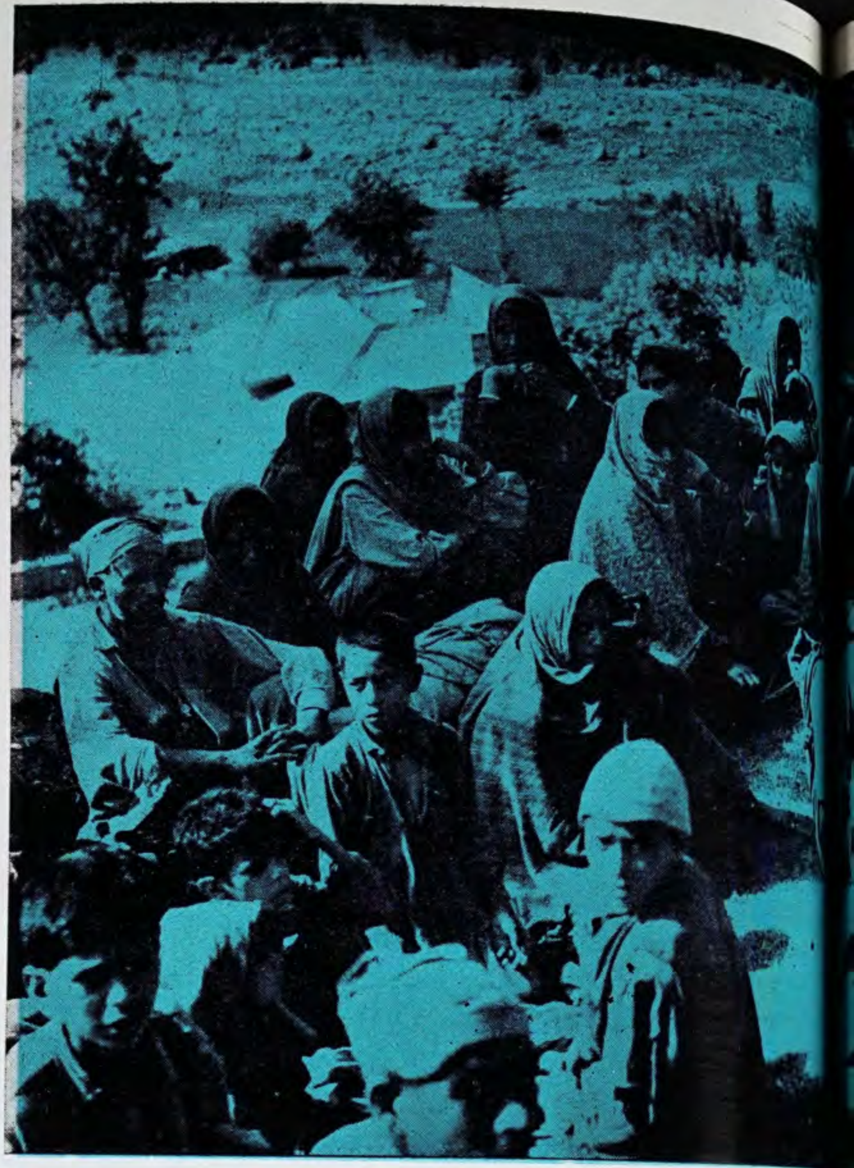
Helen Kirkpatrick, an American journalist, wrote in the New York "Post" of May 13, 1948, as follows:

"Can India deny that the Kashmiris rebelled against the despotic rule of their Hindu Maharajah in August, two months before the so-called raiders entered Kashmir?"

Thus the people of Kashmir had revolted against the Maharajah as early as August, 1947, in respect of the question of accession. On October 21, 1947, Sheikh Abdullah, who was released from jail a few days ago and who later became Prime Minister of Kashmir, gave a press statement in Delhi as follows:

"The happenings in certain states, such as Patiala, Bharatpur and elsewhere, have naturally caused apprehension in the minds of the Muslims of Kashmir who form the majority of the population. They were afraid that the State's accession to India portended danger to them. The people of Poonch, who had suffered under their ruler, had started a people's movement for redress of their grievances. It was not communal. The Kashmir State sent troops, and there was panic in Poonch, but most of the other population were ex-servicemen. They evacuated their women and children, closed the frontier, and returned with arms supplied by willing people. The present position was that the State forces were forced to withdraw".

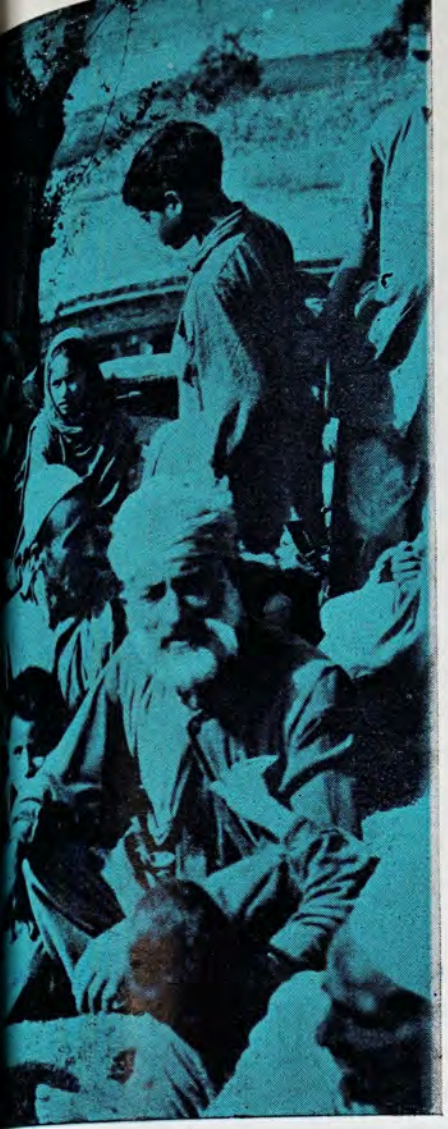
The fact is that the freedom movement in Kashmir swelled into a revolt. The Maharajah was defeated and forced to flee from the capital. He asked for military aid from India. India replied that it could not give him military aid unless he offered to accede. He wrote a letter of accession, dictated by Mr. V.P. Menon, a Sectetary of the Government of India, on October 26, 1947. Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor-General of India, accepted the accession on October 27, 1947, and on the morning of October 27, 1947, Indian troops had already occupied Kashmir.



INDIA'S DOUBLE-DEALING

The acceptance by India of this letter of the Maharajah created no legal relationship between Kashmir and India. "The Maharajah was not prepared to submit the issue of accession to a referendum, in order to ascertain the will of the people, and the Dominion of India, in utter disregard of the wishes of the people and the principles governing the matter,

An endless stream of refugees, numbering more than a hundred thousand now has poured out of Kashmir into Pakistan ever since the recent hostilities started



Kashmiri Muslim refugee families sitting in the courtyard of a hospital at Hajira in Azad Kashmir, after having abandoned hearth and home as a result of Indian repression

entered into an arrangement by which Kashmir should become part of India. The Government of Pakistan cannot be expected to acquiesce in such an arrangement. Such an accession could not but be regarded by the Government of Pakistan as an encroachment on Pakistan's sovereignty and territory and inconsistent with friendly relations that should have existed between the two Dominions. The responsibility for the consequences that ensued rested squarely on the shoulders of the Indian Government".

The words within inverted comas in the fore-going paragraph are Mr. Nehru's, telegraphed to Pakistan in connection with the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan, except that here "Junagadh" has been replaced with "Kashmir", and "Government of India" with "Government of Pakistan".

Shortly after partition, Junagadh, where the ruler was a Muslim while the majority of the people were Hindus, acceded to Pakistan. No incident of any kind had happened to mark any difference between the people of Junagadh and their ruler. Mr. Nehru had then sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on September 12, 1947 :

"The Dominion of India would be prepared to accept any democratic test in respect of the accession of Junagadh to either of the two Dominions. They would accordingly be willing to abide by the verdict of its people, ascertained under the joint supervision of the Dominion of India and Junagadh. If, however, the ruler of Junagadh is not prepared to submit this issue to referendum, and if Pakistan, in utter disregard of the wishes of the people and the principles governing the matter, enter into arrangement by which Junagadh is to become part of the Federation of Pakistan, the Government of India cannot be expected to acquiesce in such an arrangement". ....

In Kashmir, there was not only a difference of opinion between the people and the ruler, but there the people had made that difference manifest most emphatically by a revolt. The Government of Pakistan could not be expected to acquiesce in an arrangement such as was entered into by the Government of India and the fugitive Maharajah of Kashmir. The entry of tribesmen in Kashmir in support of the freedom movement is characterised by India as an aggression by Pakistan against her. The tribesmen had entered Kashmir four days before the Maharajah had written his letter of accession.

NEHRU'S OWN SOLUTION FOR KASHMIR

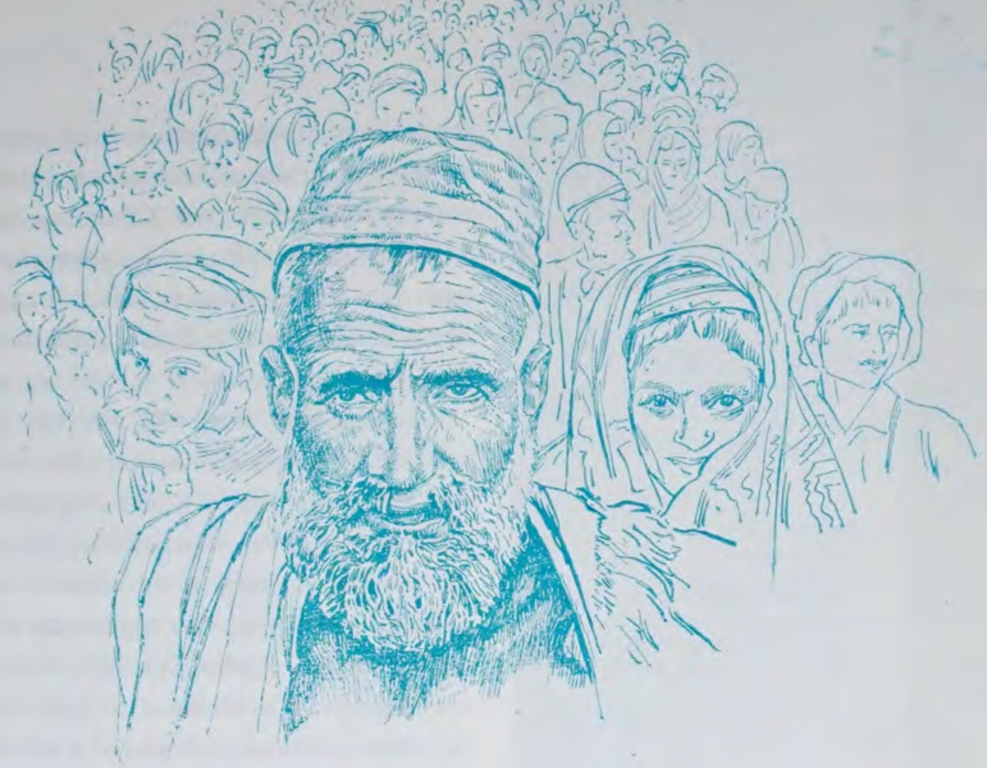
Mr. Nehru sent another telegram on September 22, 1947, in respect of Junagadh. It is as follows:

"The Pakistan Government has unilaterally proceeded to action in which it was made plain the Government of India could never, and does not, acquiesce. Such acceptance of accession by Pakistan cannot but be regarded by the Government of India as an encroachment on Indian sovereignty and territory, and inconsistent with the friendly relations that should exist between the two Dominions. This action of Pakistan is considered by the Government of India to be a clear attempt to cause disruption in the integrity of India, by extending the influence and boundaries of the Dominion of Pakistan, in utter violation of the principles on which the partition was agreed to and effected. If the matter is not reconsidered, the responsibility for the consequences must rest squarely on the shoulders of the Pakistan Government".

Now, apply these tests to Kashmir. The Government of India considered that the fairest way of ascertaining the wishes of the people of Junagadh State was to hold a plebiscite under the joint supervision of the Junagadh Government and the Government of India.

APPEAL TO U.N.

The case of Kashmir was taken to the Security Council by India on January 1, 1948, in order to bring about the withdrawal of the tribesmen so that the Indian armed forces could then crush the freedom movement by military action. The Security Council refused to endorse this position and only suggested that law and order should be maintained inside Kashmir by the armed forces to be made available by India and Pakistan. India withdrew from the Council, so that the resolution could not be passed. Later on, another resolution was passed to the effect that the Commission that was appointed



A Kashmiri peasant, whose furrowed face shows suffering borne with fortitude

should make arrangements for the withdrawal of their forces by India and Pakistan and for the use of such forces of either Dominion as it deemed necessary. This was also rejected by India.

KASHMIR OCCUPIED BY INDIA

While these proceedings were going on in the Security Council, India made extensive preparations to launch a full scale offensive to bring about a military decision. On March 15, 1948, the Indian Defence Minister announced in the Indian Constituent Assembly that the Indian Army would clear out all resistance from Kashmir soil in the next two or three months. On April 20, 1948, the Pakistan Government received a report that the offensive had already started and Rajouri captured. This was followed by a reign of terror, burning of villages, massacre of civilian population and other atrocities. Occupation of other strategic towns was imminent, giving India control of the Mangla Head Works and placing the irrigation of Pakistan at their mercy. Pakistan faced another refugee problem, with about 275,000 people uprooted and driven away from their homes. India would then sit at the door-step of Pakistan to enter at its will and pleasure. It was imperative that the Indian Army be not allowed to advance beyond the general line.

PAKISTAN FORCED INTO CONFLICT

The Pakistan Government, therefore, sent its own troops to stop the further advance of the Indian Army and to prevent the head-works from being captured. India had already turned off every drop of water of the rivers that flowed through its territory, and inflicted incalculable damage to the food resources of Pakistan.

Pakistan was under no obligation to India in respect of Kashmir, whose accession to India had been obtained by force and fraud. Pakistan would have been a traitor to its trust had it not taken that action. India's whole argument was based on the assumption that there was a valid accession of Kashmir to India ; this was utterly unfounded. It was never accepted by Pakistan or by the Security Council.

U. N. PEACE EFFORTS

In the middle of this turmoil the U. N. Commission for India and Pakistan visited the sub-continent in July, 1948, in pursuance of the Security Council resolution of April 21, 1948. On its arrival in Karachi, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan informed the UNCIP of the Indian offensive, and of Pakistan's decision to send in her forces.

After several meetings, consultations and clarifications the well-known resolutions called the UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, were passed, accepted by India and Pakistan, and endorsed by the Security Council. They, therefore, constituted an international agreement. They provided for :

(*i*) A cease-fire and the demarcation of a cease-fire line.

(*ii*) The demilitarization of Jammu and Kashmir.

(*iii*) A free and impartial plebiscite conducted by the United Nations to determine the question of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or to Pakistan.

Pakistan and India agreed to the issue of cease-fire orders to be effective from January 1, 1949. After protracted discussions the cease-fire line was also agreed to on July 27, 1949, and the United Nations military observers were posted on both sides of the line.

Then followed an unbroken series of attempts by the Security Council, the UNCIP and the United Nations representatives, to implement the agreement contained in the UNCIP resolutions, and to demilitarize the State as a preliminary to the holding of a plebiscite. More than fifteen proposals were made from time to time, every one of which was accepted by Pakistan, and every one of which was rejected by India on one pretext or another. India quibbled and prevaricated over the interpretation of the clear provisions relating to the reduction of forces by both sides in occupied and Azad Kashmir. The Commission suggested that the parties should agree to refer to arbitration the dispute over interpretation. This proposal was reinforced by the appeals of President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee. India, however, rejected it. The proposals of General McNaughton of Canada, President of the Security Council, for demilitarization were accepted by Pakistan and rejected by India. (*Vide* the report of February 3, 1957).

DIXON DECLARES INDIA INTRANSIGENT

The Security Council then appointed Sir Owen Dixon to bring about a settlement. Pakistan accepted all the proposals made by him, while India rejected them all, until, in sheer disgust, he reported to the Council on September 15, 1950, as follows :

"In the end I became convinced that India's agreement would never be obtained to demilitarization in any such form, or to provisions governing the holding of plebiscite of any such character as would, in my opinion, permit of the plebiscite being conducted in conditions sufficiently guarding against intimidation and other forms of influence and abuse by which the freedom and fairness of the plebiscite might be imperilled".

Then came Dr. Frank P. Graham, as United Nations representative under Security Council resolution of March 30, 1951. He was assisted by a Military Adviser, General Jacob Devers. All their efforts were foiled by Indian intransigence. In his fifth report, submitted to the United Nations Secretary-General on March 27, 1953, Dr. Graham said :

"Instead of the United Nations representative continuing to report differences to the Security Council, may the leadership of 400,000,000 people, with the goodwill and assistance of the United Nations, join in negotiating and reporting an agreement on Kashmir, and thereby light a torch along the difficult path of the people's pilgrimage towards peace".

ARBITRATION REJECTED

Mr. Jarring, another President of the Security Council, visited the sub-continent on March 14, 1957. Mr. Nehru again raised the question of "aggression" and imaginary breaches of the agreement which he said Pakistan had committed. Jarring suggested arbitration, which Mr. Nehru promptly rejected, although Article 51 of the Indian Constitution makes a clear provision for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. In his book "Discovery of India", Mr. Nehru has laid stress on arbitration as an effective method of settling disputes. India also claimed that Mr. Jarring had agreed with Mr. Nehru's view that circumstances had vastly changed and that it was no longer possible to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir. Mr. Jarring, when contacted, declared that he had agreed that a great change had, no doubt, come over Kashmir, but that he had made it clear to Mr. Nehru that change in the circumstances made it all the more imperative for the plebiscite to be held as soon as possible.

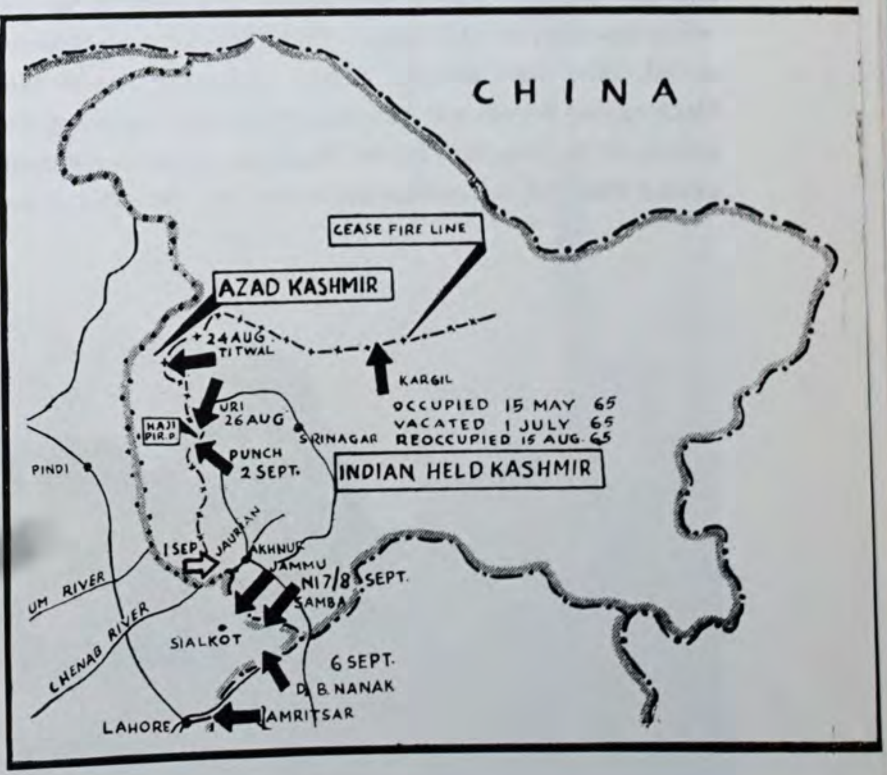
KASHMIR INTEGRATED WITH INDIA

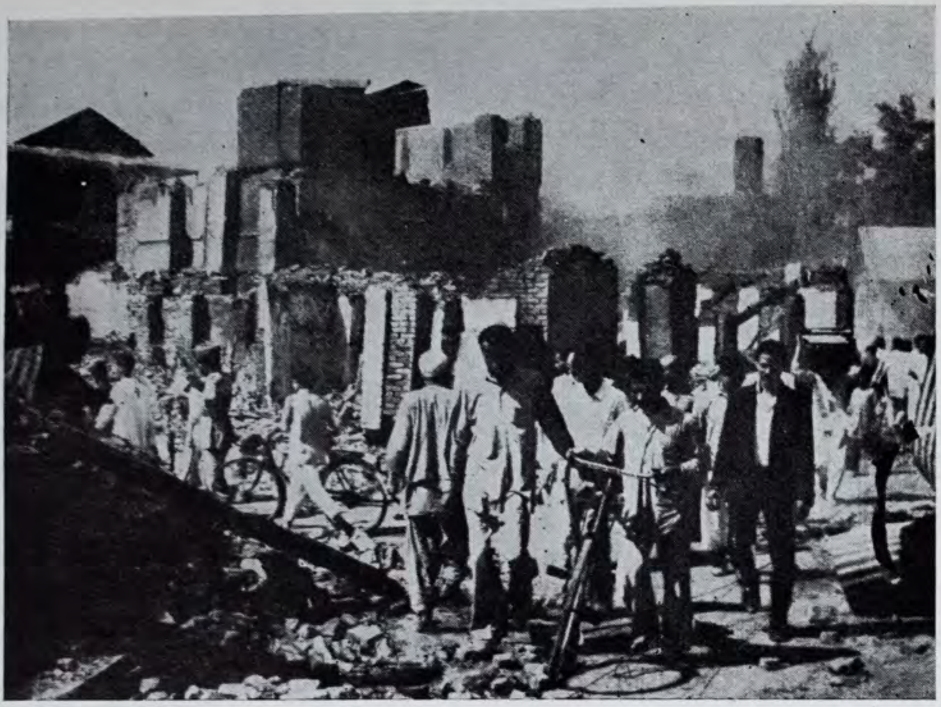
All these years, while negotiations were going on and the Security Council proceedings were in progress, India, from time to time, extended the provisions of its constitution, bit by bit, to Kashmir, as steps towards the State's complete integration with the Indian Union. The matter was immediately brought by Pakistan to the notice of the Security Council. India promptly gave assurances that these steps would not have any effect on the agreement already entered into by Pakistan and India for a fair and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir. Finally, on March 30, 1965, the "Integration Bill" was passed, abolishing Kashmir's special status and making it an integral part of India. This was the last straw on the back.

LONG-DRAWN TORTURE

This, in short is the history of Kashmir after partition, which may be summed up as one unceasing round of double talk, and zig zag tactics based on falsehood and perfidy. India has all along been insisting that in Kashmir black is white, up is down, wrong is right and hot is cold. Mr. Nehru tried to bring others to share his own self-deception. When, however, after his disastrous adventure in the Himalayas against the

Map of Kashmir, showing areas of conflict





Batmaloo, a suburb of Srinagar in Kashmir, which was set aflame by the Indian forces in Occupied Kashmir to kill or drive away the Muslims of that area as a punishment for helping the freedom fighters

Chinese, according to Sheikh Abdullah, he gave up his monstrous infatuation for Kashmir and decided to get rid of this pain in the neck by coming to terms with Pakistan, he died. But his succesors are practising the same self-deception even when India and Pakistan have got locked up in war and the world has been brought to the brink of World War III.

WAR AND UNEASY LULL

In the war which resulted from the aggression committed by India on September 6, 1965, against Pakistan by a cowardly sneak attack on Lahore, India took a drubbing she will never forget. Her war machinery was smashed and her economy, already in bad shape, was further shattered. After the cease-fire, brought about by the Security Council on Secretary-General U. Thant's report, the Security Council is now considering the main issue, namely the Kashmir dispute. They are again resorting to the same quack treatment to which the United Kingdom and the United States had recourse in 1962 through their representatives, Duncan Sandys and Governor Harriman, namely a summit meeting between President Ayub and Mr. Shastri. This is nothing but an attempt to put the whole case back in cold storage. India does not mean business at all. She has already begun beseeching Russia and blackmailing Britain and America for fresh arms supply on the pretext of meeting the Chinese threat but in fact to use them against Pakistan in Kashmir and elsewhere. Mr. Shastri has sent out high-powered emissaries abroad to extract political as well as military profit out of this war and his trouble with China. Private talks between India and Pakistan have not proved useful. We have been talking at cross-purposes all these years and even if we talk for a hundred years we shall not see eye to eye with each other. Such talks are like watering the asphalt pavement in the confident anticipation that roses will reward our labours. This state of affairs will continue, with disastrous results ultimately, as long as India knows that the solution of the Kashmir dispute is a matter of choice for her and as long as she has assurances from the West of all help, military and economic, irrespective of whether the Kashmir problem is settled or not. Why should there be any deviation from the solemn agreement for the universally recognised remedy of plebiscite? There are only two opinion about it: India's vs the world. India, and for that matter Pakistan, can as little escape it as the effect can escape the cause.

The people of Kashmir waited patiently for years in the hope that the Security Council resolutions would after all be implemented. When they lost all hope, a revolutionary urge burned within them inwardly and imperceptibly. Then, it started simmering, and finally erupted in the way we are witnessing, on a pattern familiar to all students of history. India alone is responsible for it, and some way has to be found to make her see reason.

ISLAMABAD

THE CITY OF TOMORROW

RASHID HUSAIN

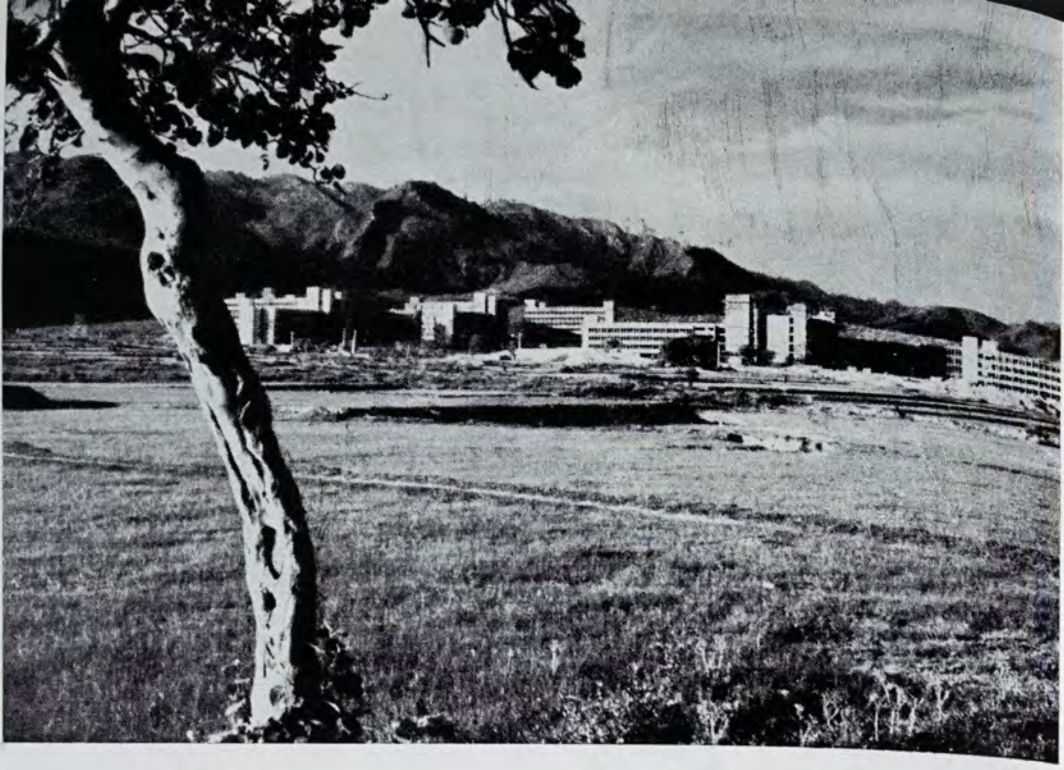
A new capital city for the new state of Pakistan! Such was the decision taken in June, 1960. It captured the imagination of the country and made news right round the world. The best talent from the four quarters of the globe was gathered to design and build the dream city of the ideological state of Pakistan. Four years passed by in hectic activity. As the winter of 1963 approached, to be precise on October 9, 1963, the first special train carrying civil servants from three Central Ministries and their families, steamed into Chaklala Railway Station, Rawalpindi, to live and work in the new city.

CITY COMES TO LIFE

The atomosphere was charged with emotions. Throngs of friends and relatives had gathered on the platform, which was tastefully decorated for the occasion. Reception offices had been set up to receive and transport the pioneer residents to Islamabad, in buses and trucks. It was a carefully planned operation conducted swiftly and smoothly, and thus, Islamabad, the city of our hopes and aspirations, came to life.

Islamabad nestles in the foothills of the Margalla Range between the city of Rawalpindi and the Rawal Dam and Lake. About 2500 acres have already been built upon but the total area of the capital site will be 250 square miles. The splendid

Aab Para Street in Islamabad—a prize picture by A. Qadeer Nayeemi of Karachi



A distant view of the Secretariat Blocks in Islamabad—a prize picture by F. K. Malik of Rawalpindi

Islamabad Highway leads into the capital and then spreads out into a network of roads that already total a hundred miles. The well-planned city is divided into various sectors, as the administrative, the residential, the civic and commercial areas, and the diplomatic enclave.

The administrative sector will be located atop a group of three high hills, to include the President's House, Assembly Building, Supreme Court, and Secretariat Building. The last is located to the north, and already seven huge blocks have been completed and some occupied by government staff.

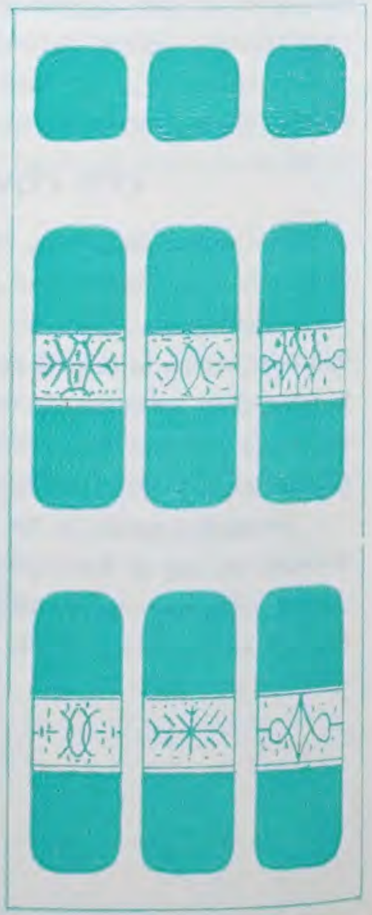
The massive Secretariat blocks designed by Ponti, Farnaroli and Roselli of Milan, have an appearance of solidity and strength. They have a utilitarian character and have been designed for efficient placement and coordination of different government office units, after consultation with the Ministries themselves.

PAKISTAN HOUSE

Adjoining the Administrative Sector on the south-west, is Pakistan House, the most imposing building so far constructed in Islamabad. Designed by the Italian architect Gio Ponti, it consists of six stories with 275 suites, all well-appointed and excellently provided with modern amenities. It will serve primarily as a hostel for members of the National Assembly, and secondarily as a first class international hotel for visitors. On the ground floor there are conference rooms, a banquet hall and a spacious lounge. The floors are paved with Peshawar marble, and the walls have been decorated with small and large slabs of coloured onyx from Quetta, set in white plaster, so that each piece shows up its full beauty as a piece of abstract art.

The patio has been judiciously placed between the Banquet Hall and the main block of rooms, while on one side is a

R.C.D. delegates from Iran and Turkey visit the Islamabad Secretariat during construction.



spacious garden through which a broad stream flows down, lined with rose bushes. From the various floors, one gets a captivating view of Rawal Lake on one side and the Margalla Hills on the other. The place is ideally suited for big conferences, and Pakistan House shot into news recently when the Ministerial Conference of R.C.D. (Regional Cooperation for Development) was held here, and the flags of Pakistan, Iran and Turkey flew on the building.

Pakistan House, a well-appointed hostel for members of the National Assembly and other guests, at Islamabad—designed by the famous Italian architect, Gio Ponti

Descending forty feet from the Administrative Sector by gentle terraces, one comes to the Central Square. From here leads out the Capital Avenue. On both sides of this will be the civic and commercial areas, and on either side of these has been laid out the residential sector.

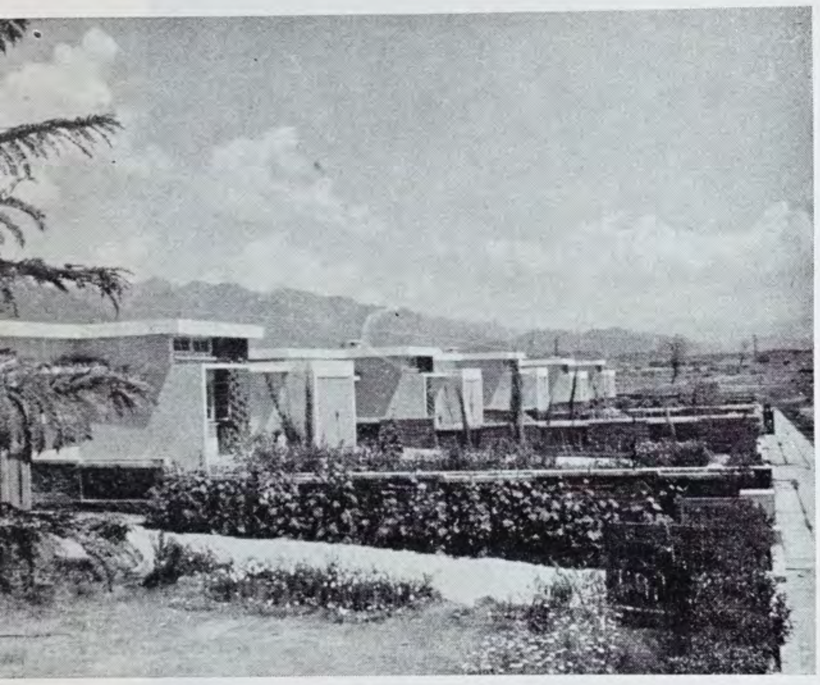
RESIDENTIAL SECTOR

The idea is that the residential and the civic and commercial centres will grow together, without being fixed at one point and getting choked up by later developments of the city.

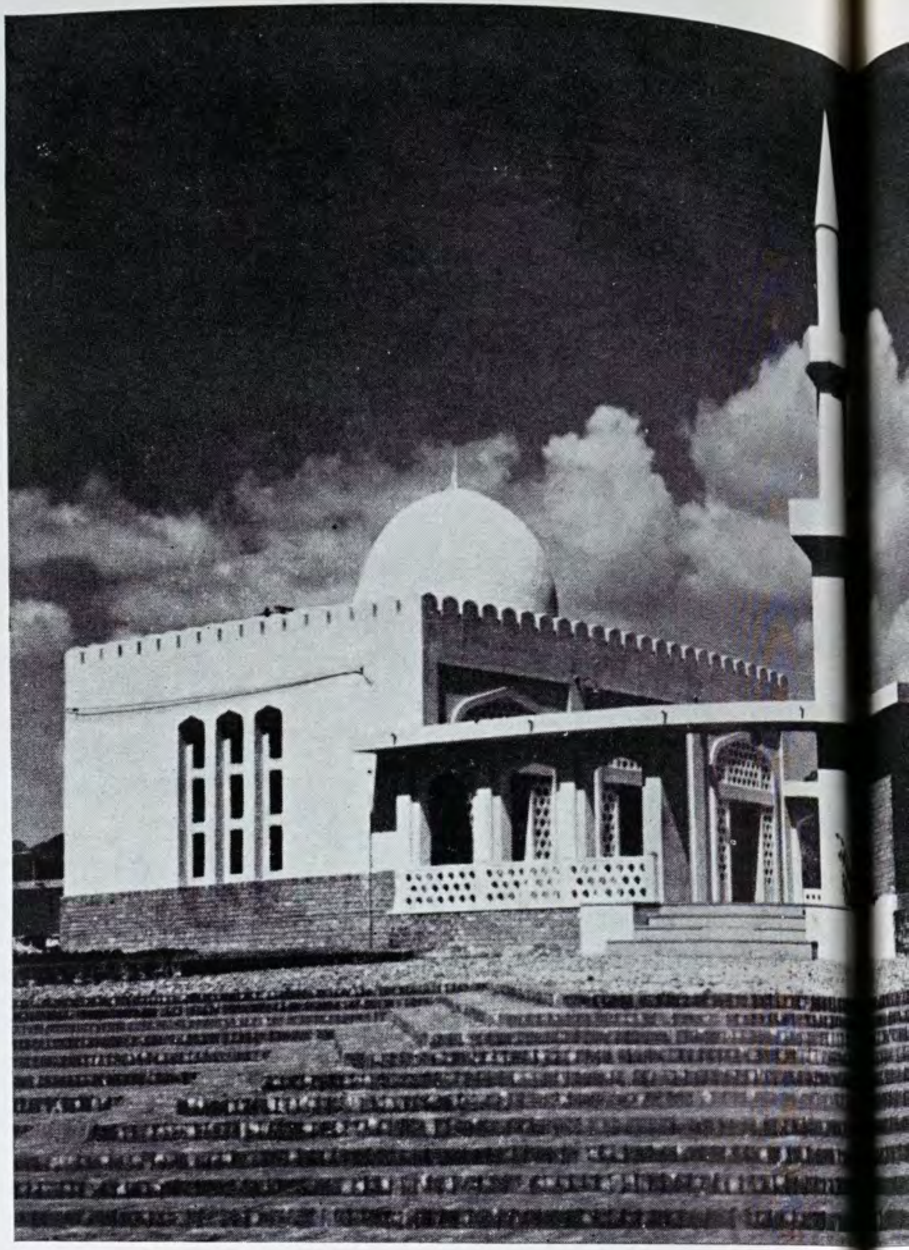
Already more than five thousand houses of all types have been built for government employees, while many hundred plots have been developed and offered for sale to the public to build private houses.

The official residential area is divided into self-contained neighbourhoods, protected from fast moving traffic, and having all the essential requirements of a healthy modern community. Each community is made up of about six or seven hundred houses, and has a school, a dispensary, a mosque and a small market. Various communities make up one residential sector, each provided with one high school for boys and one for girls, a bank, a post office and a police station. A large number of houses have been occupied, and today the residential population of Islamabad is about 30,000, not to mention the 13,000 persons engaged in the construction work.

The first batch of residents actually arrived two years ahead of schedule when it was realised that sufficient amenities had been provided to sustain a living population. It is now almost two years since Islamabad was partially occupied. During these two years many more schemes have been translated into brick and mortar from the planning boards, and Islamabad is a living and breathing reality. Office blocks are functioning units; gardens have grown in the backyards of many houses; schools are now packed with children, community centres have cropped up. Marketing and shopping centres are supplying daily necessities of life. Kitchens are redolent with appetising smells rising from food cooking on gas and cookers. What had been a sparsely populated landscape is now a dynamic and a fast developing city. Cooperative Stores



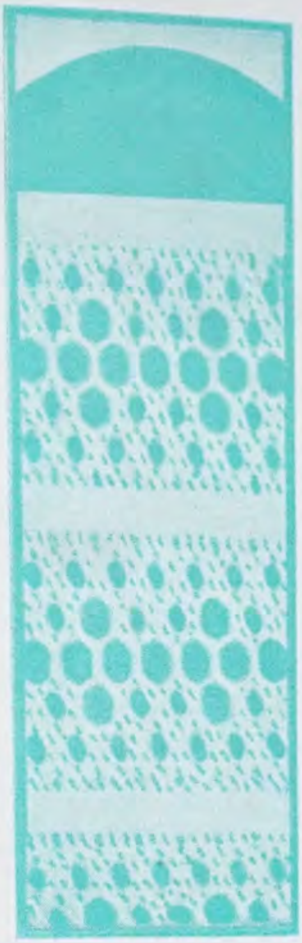
'G' type houses meant for civil servants within the salary range of Rs 1251 *to Rs.* 1800 *p.m.*



A distinctive new mosque in Islamabad—first prize picture by Malik

Blocks of Government Hostels for bachelor employees

by H[illegible] Malik of Rawalpindi



were opened to keep the prices at a reasonable level. Maternity and Health Centres serve the population which continues to grow every day with new allotment of houses.

Aab Para was the first locality to come to life. It is situated in the Sector G-6, the first residential sector of Islamabad. The word Aab Para was coined by merging 'Aab' of Urdu meaning 'water', with 'Para' of Bengali denoting "locality" to emphasise integrated pattern of cultural life.

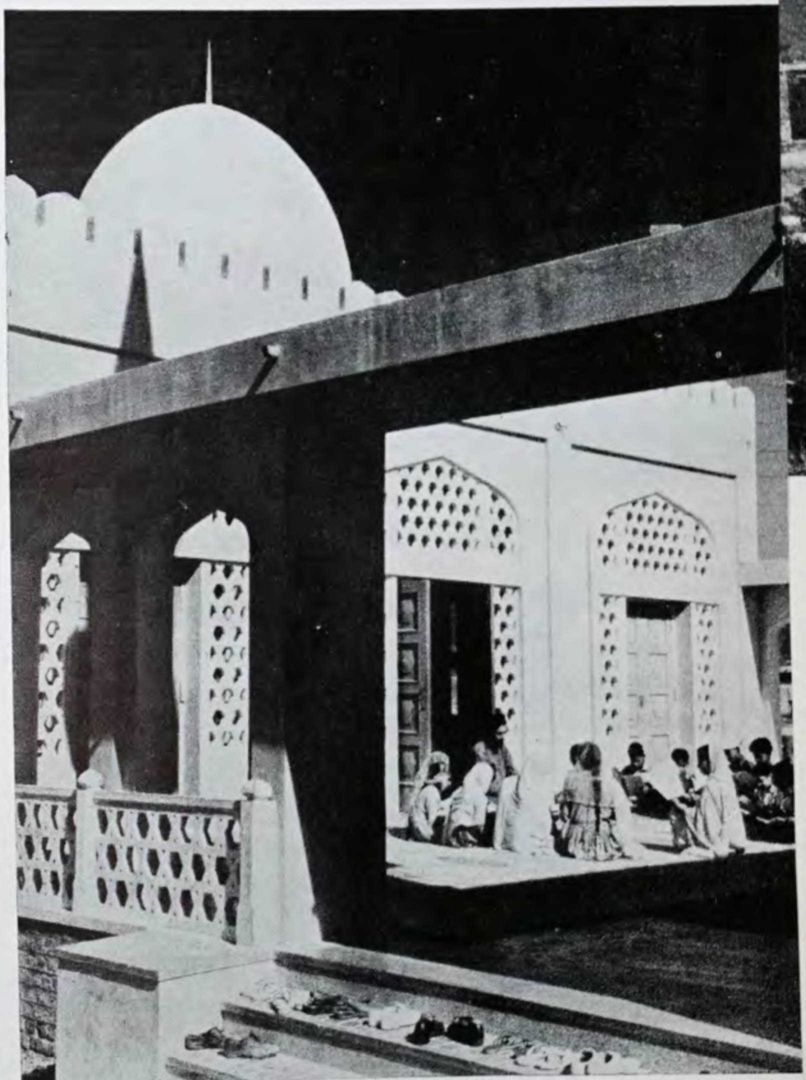
The Potwar Plateau was a neglected hinterland of Rawalpindi, the city of rickety tongas, dilapidated buildings and military barracks. But Islamabad is not an extension of Rawalpindi, nor another Satellite Town. It is a new city nestling close to the beautiful Margalla Hills, Rawal Lake and the ruins of fabled Taxila. Another attraction in having the capital at Islamabad will be the proximity of Murree, the hill station which is the holiday resort of so many in summer.

Five years ago no one could have imagined that the terraced table-land of the Potwar Plateau would one day become the metropolis of the nation. But the imagination of the planners has turned the land of ravines, crags, boulders, meadows, and springs into a modern city. The displaced persons have been properly taken care of and settled in Montgomery district and Guddu Barrage area.

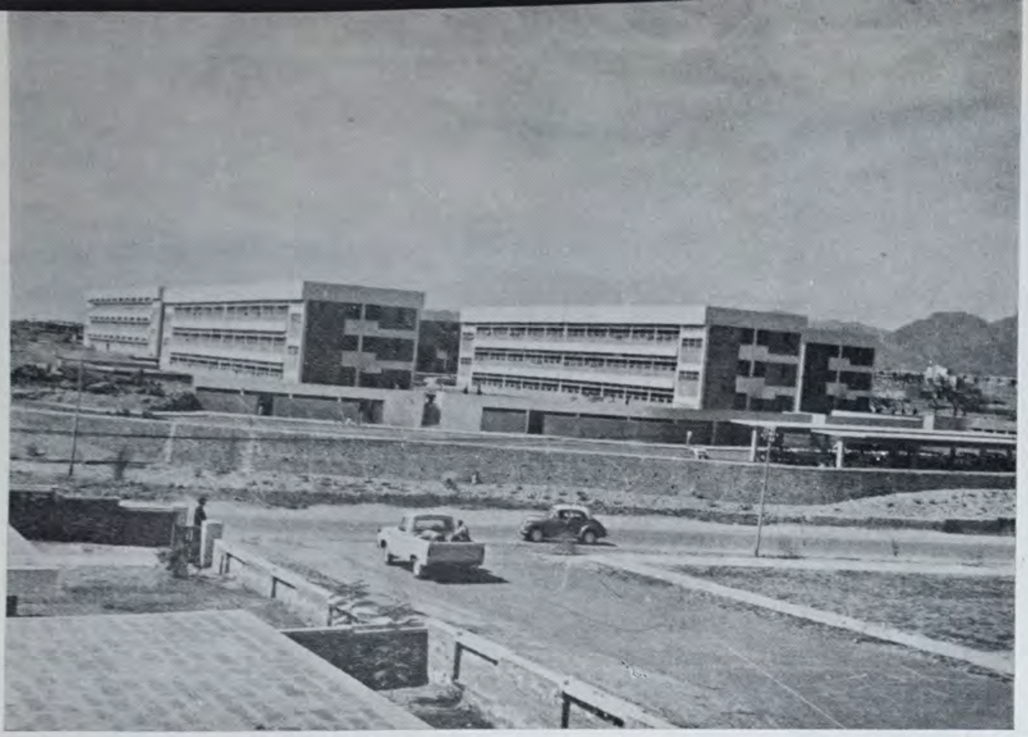
TOWN PLANNING ACHIEVEMENT

Islamabad is a most notable example of town planning. In Asia never was so large an area as 351 square miles developed at so short a notice. Cities evolve during a long period of time and a number of geographic and economic factors shape their future. Parts of such cities may be planned but otherwise they grow up spontaneously. As such these habitations suffer from a number of handicaps associated with haphazard growth; congestion, lack of sanitation, proper environment and the like. Islamabad is free from all such defects. It is a thoughtfully planned city. Every care has been taken to ensure that the city is capable of playing its destined role as the nation's capital.

The city is divided into self-contained inter-linked sectors



Children learn to read the Holy Quran in the mosque school at Islamabad —a prize picture by Anthony Dass of Rawalpindi



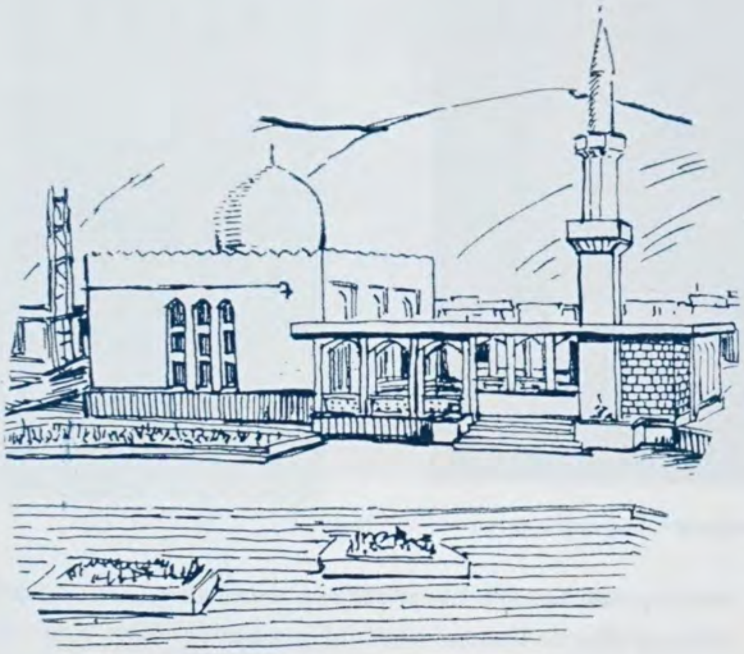
Office buildings of the Capital Development Authority, in which various offices of the Central Ministries have been temporarily located

or segments, each with its own community centre, equipped with schools, parks, dispensary, prayer house, market and shops—all at hand.

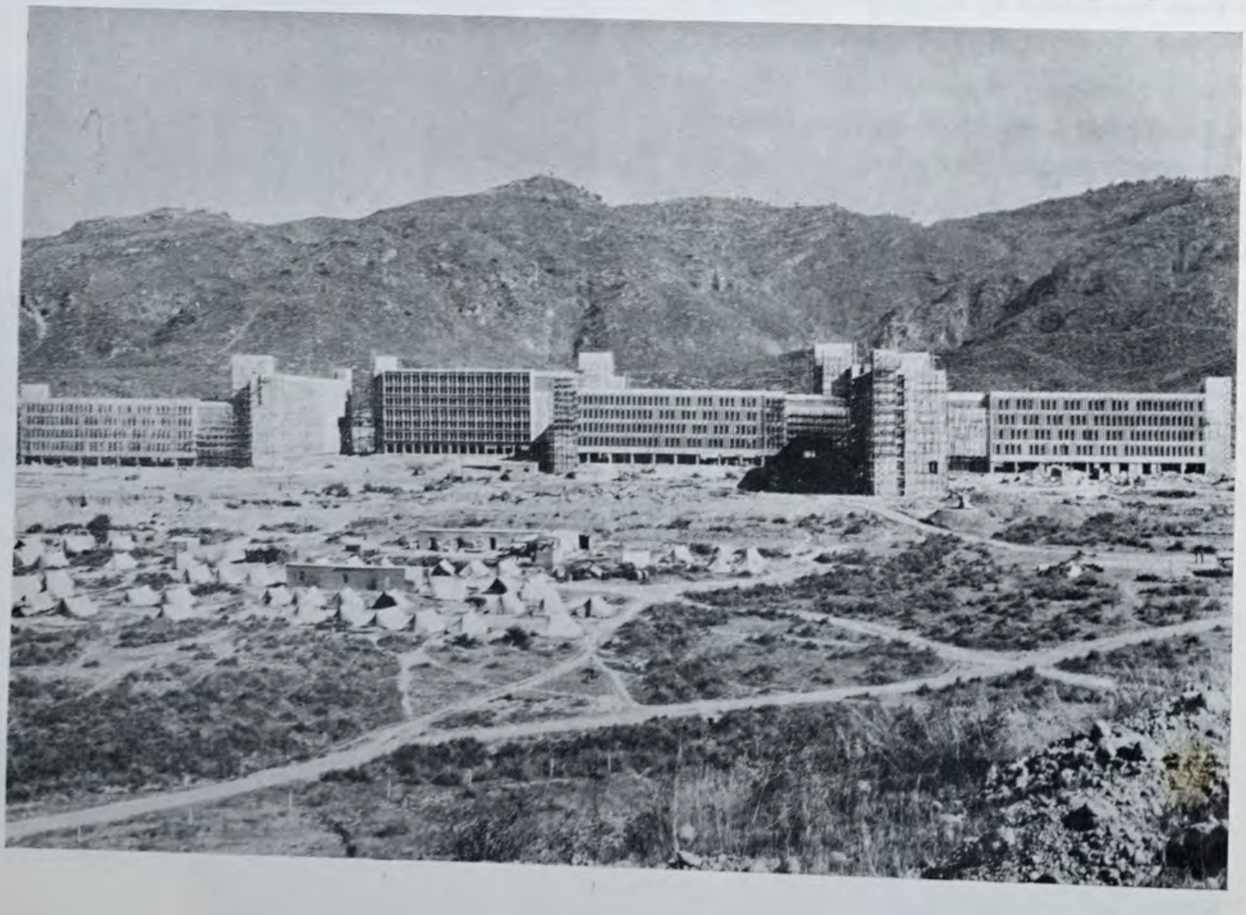
LIVING IN ISLAMABAD

"It is the privacy and the feeling of security and good neighbourliness that we appreciate most", an East Pakistani resident of Islamabad told me. He occupies a D type quarter, earns about Rs. 400 a month, and has a drawing room, dining room, two bed-rooms, w.c., bath, verandah, kitchen and a store. "The self-sufficiency of Islamabad inspires a peculiar feeling of ease and comfort", he concluded.

There is no danger of children meeting with road accidents by straying off the house as there is no heavy traffic on the pavements and interior pathways. In fact, the localities are road-risk-free. When it rains, the people can easily walk on the concrete footpaths, said Mr. Ataur Rehman and Mr. Salim Bhatti, Economic Investigators who live with Mr. Tanveer Ahmed Khan, a Class I Research Officer. He is an East Pakistani who has recently married but has not yet brought his family with him. They have a kitchen which



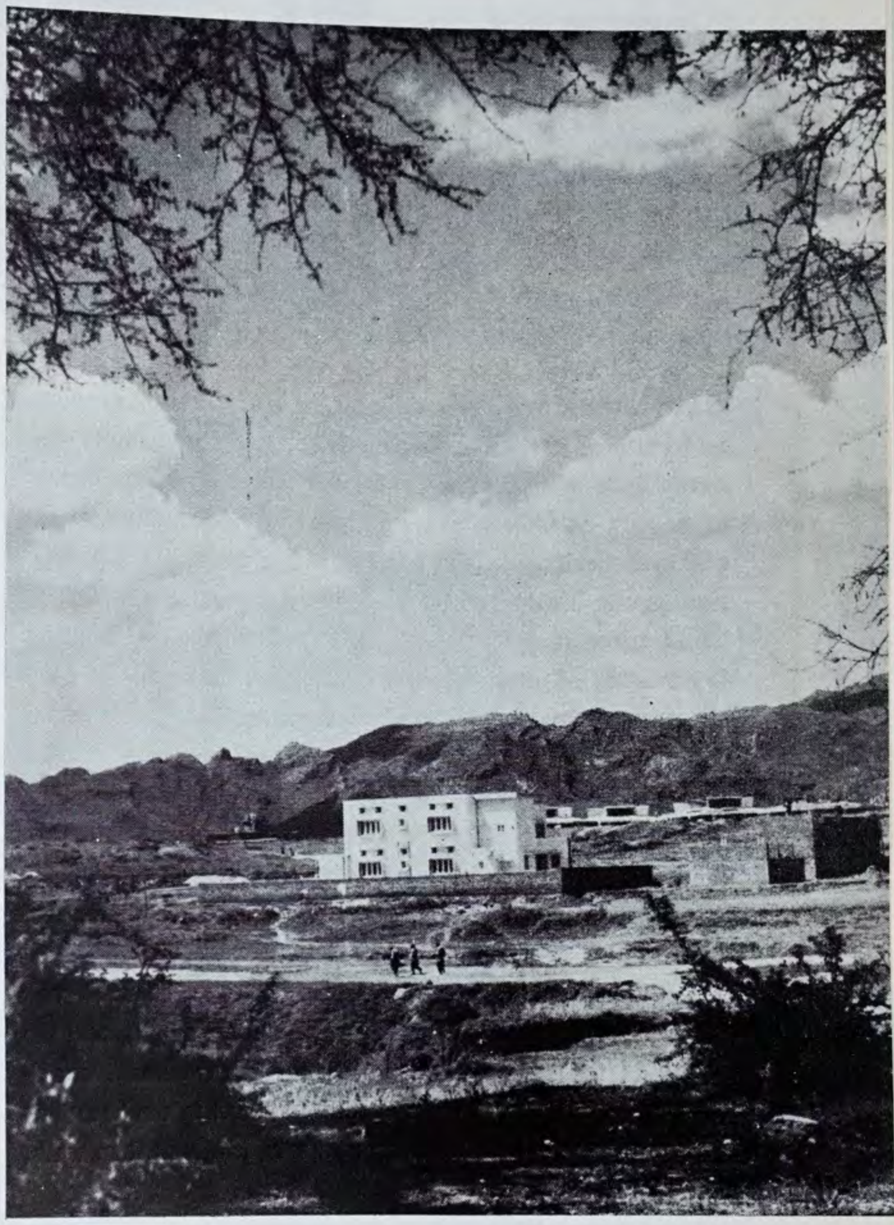
Eight massive multi-storeyed blocks that will house the Central Secretariat in their million square feet of office space



they share. It is only an hour's ride if you want to go visiting friends in Rawalpindi. They go out for long evening walks.

I also talked to Khawaja Abdul Hamid, an Assistant in the Ministry of Finance. He said: "I came here in March. Since I migrated to Pakistan, I have lived in many places like Karachi and Chaklala. Transport there had always been a problem for me. Now my office is located close to my residence. The house I have been allotted is just the kind that I wanted to build when I retired. I have realised my dream. I am happy and satisfied". He was directing a gardener who was digging in his front yard where he hopes to have shrubs and flowers. His children go to the local schools and there is a mosque nearby where he can join the congregation at prayer.

Another view of the L-shaped Secretariat blocks, now almost complete and partly occupied



A private house in Islamabad—prize picture by M. Ismail of Jhelum

Life is thus well integrated in Islamabad with few of the problems of other cities, though the construction of the town is by no means complete. The water from Saidpur and Nurpur springs is wholesome and fresh. Saidpur Headworks were completed in March 1963, and Nurpur a few months later in July 1963. For bulk water supply the Soan river will be tapped at Simly about twenty miles from Rawalpindi. This will supply twenty four million gallons of water per day.

An efficient drainage system, operated by a giant activated sludge system treatment plant, is working. The effluent will be used as fertiliser for irrigation. The drainage system keeps the houses free from dirt.

NATIONAL PARK

Lying towards south and south-east of Islamabad is a vast valley, extending up to the foot of Lehtrar Hills. It is earmarked as a National Park Area, mainly for academic and recreational purposes. In this area will be built institutions of national importance such as the Atomic Research Institute, the National University, the National Health Centre, Jamia Al-Khizria, and a spacious Sports Centre including an Olympic Village. It will also house exhibition grounds, zoological and botanical gardens, and parks. It would also be a conveniently near source of vegetables, poultry and dairy products.

DESIGN FOR LIVING

The layout and design of the houses in Islamabad has been made after considering the socio-economic factors and

A fine paved street in Aab Para, the first completed residential area in Islamabad

micro-climatic and site conditions. On the basis of economic and cultural levels and conditions of the people, certain standards have been adopted as regards accommodation, quality of houses, architecture, internal and external treatment. The cost and specification of houses have had to be kept in proportion to the income of the civil servants. Adequate outdoor living space is a particular feature of all low-cost housing. It would be of interest to know that even the houses of Class IV servants of the Central Government have two living rooms with bath-room and kitchen and they are equipped with sanitary arrangements, running water and gas.

Large plot frontages have been avoided to keep the cost of services low. The orientation of the houses has been kept in a way that maximum advantage is derived from the weather conditions. Trees and other plantations have been provided outside the houses and in the court-yards for aesthetic as well as insulation purposes. Fan lights, ceiling height, and the placing of verandahs are based on the micro-climatic conditions of the area. Wire gauze has been used in the houses as it diminishes light intensity, and absorbs less heat than walls, and facilitates ventilation. Doors and windows have been provided in accordance with the scale and size of the house and rooms.

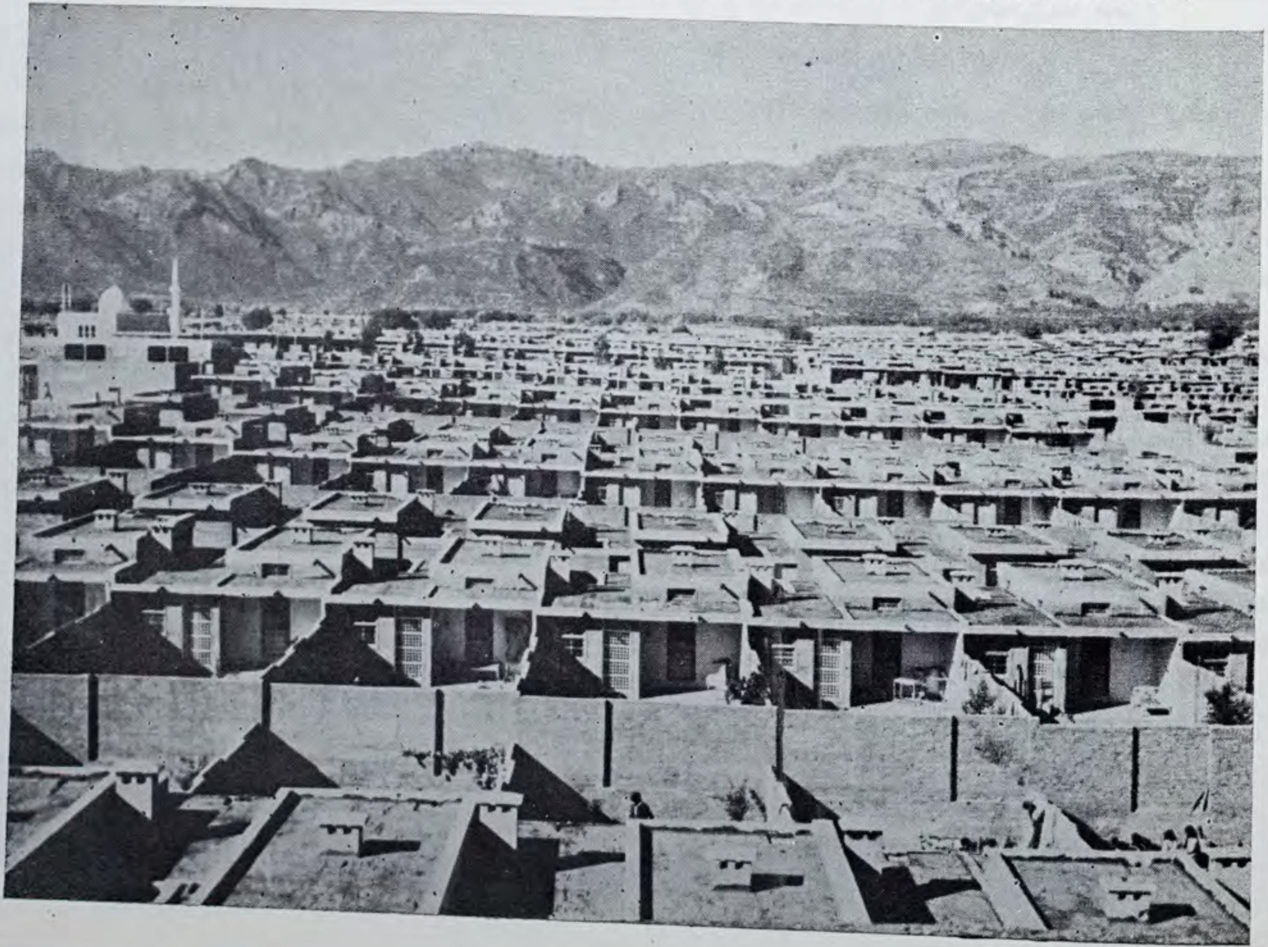
Due consideration has been given to the social habits and traditions of the people. The front area is mainly designed for men and guests while the rear is meant for family living. Taking into account the phenomenon of urban individualism the houses have been planned in a compact manner to encourage community life and to give a sense of security, with greens and commons for outdoor recreation of the residents.

In order to ensure speed and economy, standardization in design, in dimension and construction has been adopted.

In order to achieve a proper city-scape, individual buildings are laid out, and designed to serve and proclaim an overall architectural unity.

In the field of Government housing, the Capital Development Authority has established its own competence and criteria of designing and planning. Simultaneously with the housing, mosques, schools, health centres and commercial areas have also been designed and it is hoped that these will

A general view of compact but comfortable houses designed for low income Government employees (Sector G-6)



serve as models to be followed in other cities of Pakistan.

A new city will thus emerge providing a new approach to architecture in Pakistan and its tremendous impact would be reflected in the future architecture of our country.

LANDSCAPING

Landscaping has been done in an orderly fashion. Gardening policy is based on four basic principles, fast growth, drought resistance, ornamentation and economy.

East Pakistani species of plants have also thrived in the soil. There are U.S. roses in the nursery. A Chinese tallow tree was planted by the visiting Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. Japanese Cherry trees are flourishing. The soil has also been found suitable for Oak, Gold Mohur, Jacaranda, Golden Cassia, Mango, and others. In spring in Islamabad, jonquils dance in the morning breeze, and a colourful landscape is built up by hyacinths, narcissus, anemone, and other blossoms. The Shakarparian Hill Garden is rich in dahlias, phlox, pansies, gladioli, and numerous other new and old flowers.

Fruit trees like citrus, pear, plum, almond, peach, apricot, mango, avocado, jaman and the like are also being planted.

Sheesham has already been planted in suitable spots, besides paper mulberry and kapok. Conservation measures will be undertaken to stabilise the soil by planting suitable trees and shrubs. Aquatic plants will be developed around Rawal Lake.

Fed by a 30-acre CDA Nursery, Islamabad is fast becoming a town of gardens and streams and is being landscaped systematically. The nursery will yield 4,00,000 plants annually.

INDUSTRIES

Though without any important raw material in its hinterland, steps have been taken by the Captial Development Authority to develop the economy of Islamabad, just as care has been taken to develop its aesthetic side. The building of the Government Printing Press is going up, and other industries like marble tiles, RCC Pipes, Unani Laboratories, furniture manufacture, steel re-rolling, wood seasoning, are either already functioning or planned for the two distinct belts of Light and Heavy Industry, earmarked in the Master Plan. This will not only provide employment to migrants but make it gradually self supporting and independent of Rawalpindi, though the life of the two cities is likely to be interlinked for a long time to come.

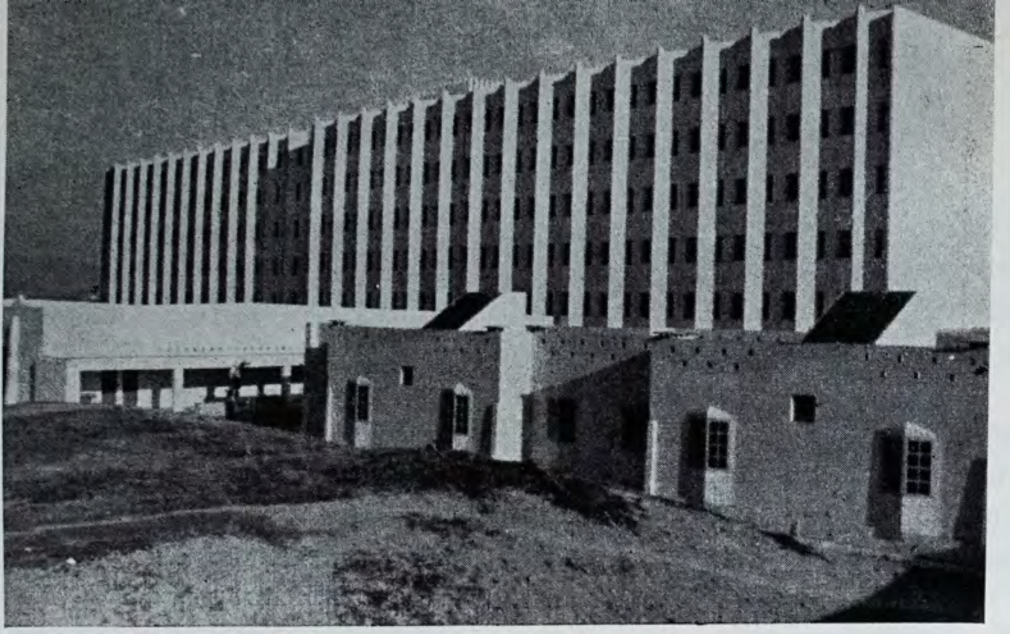
A cinema is also planned and scheduled to be completed by September this year.

Blocks of residential buildings for senior officers in Islamabad

ARCHITECTURE

The already accomplished and planned architecture of Islambad represents the fusion of the traditional and modern concept.

While standardisation is the keynote of all government housing, imagination, originality of design, creativeness and



Pakistan House seen from the President's Hill; the six-storey air-conditioned hostel has 275 suites, provided with all modern facilities

aesthetic appeal characterise such imposing structures as Pakistan House.

MAIN BUILDINGS

The other principal buildings to be built in the Administrative Sector, include the President's House, the Assembly Building, the Supreme Court Building, and a group of buildings for cultural activities.

The Assembly building and the Supreme Court will be located in the Central Area, while the President's House and Estate also will be built here, atop a group of three high hills. The Secretariat Building is located to the north, and the cultural group to the south, all held together by the continuous 250 foot Esplanade and an inter-connected system of lakes and gardens.

Other important buildings under construction are the government hostel, a covered bazar, the telephone exchange, the post office, an intermediate college, the offices of the Inter-University Board, and others.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

The Islamabad University will be residential and will be the national centre for higher learning and research. Still on the drawing boards of Erkin Palace, this University hopes to call back many of the talented scholars and scientists of the country who are at work in foreign institutions because of the lack of opportunities at home. It is expected that the University will also attract many foreign students and scholars. It will be an entirely different kind of University, because there will be no undergraduate studies.

The future citizen of Islamabad, when the whole project is complete, will be a real citizen of the world. The generation that is in school in the town today will grow up in another fifteen years to live and work in modern surroundings in a progressive capital inhabited by representatives of many countries.

The special Enclave for Chanceries and residences of the Foreign Missions is situated in a very pleasant setting, close to the picturesque Rawal Lake. With an average elevation of 1800 feet above sea level, its gentle slopes lend themselves to the construction of interesting buildings at various levels. A small stream meanders through the area.

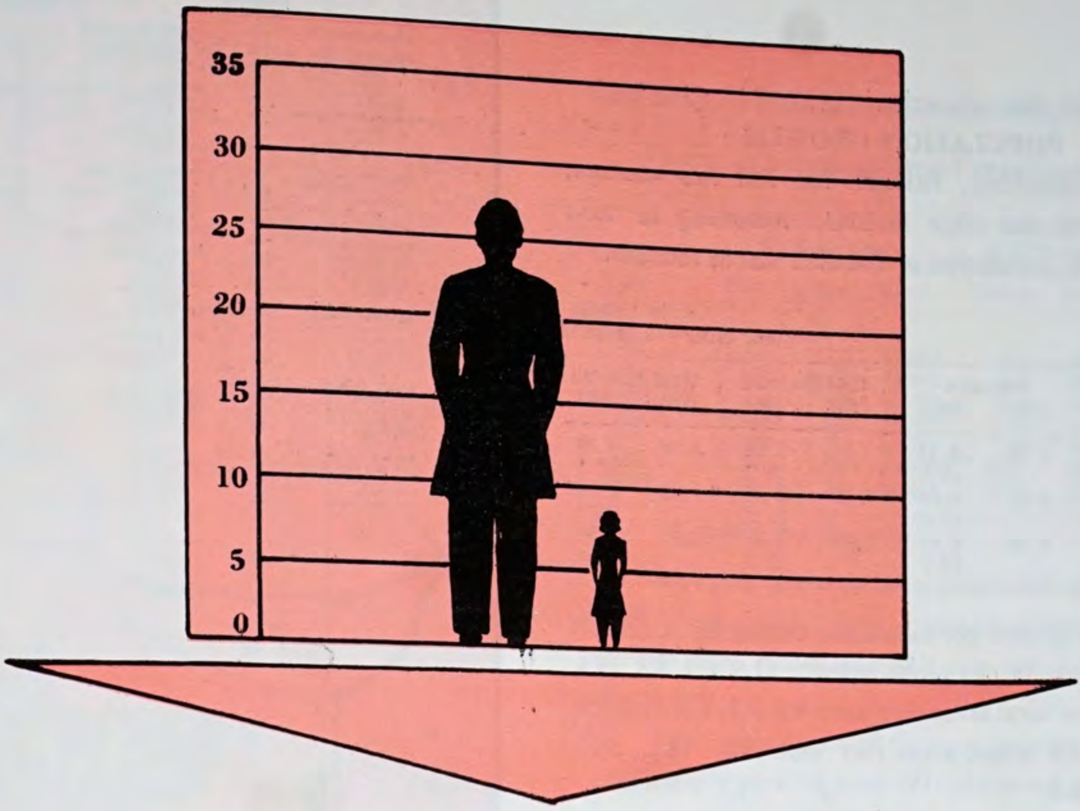
FLEXIBLE PLAN

There is scope in the Master Plan for endless development. It is a dynamic plan. There is enough land and the only limitation will be necessity and money. The planning of Islamabad is based on the principle of "Dynapolis," that is to say a growing city which spreads in scale and size smoothly and coherently, with all functions of city life, at all stages of development, moving along together, the city centre moving in step with the movement of the residential sector. Each sector is a self-contained township satisfying all needs.

No aspect of city planning, has been overlooked, whether it be the development of the private or government residential area, commercial zones, industrial and labour areas, institutional areas, recreational areas, roads, bridges, water supply, landscaping, mosques, educational institutions, transport, railways, aviation, health, enterainment, post offices, telegraph and telephones, electricity, gas, slaughter houses, municipal services, refuse disposal and fire brigade, ladies industrial institution, sports and recreation clubs, library, museum and archives.

Islamabad will be a truly people's city built by specialists with the master scheme inspired by the President himself who is the chief architect of Islamabad. He has encouraged and guided the planners at every stage. In the words of the President.

"It is not just the building of a city, it is something that could be more. It is a question of binding the people of Pakistan, a question of giving the right sort of environment where they could produce the best results. The Central Government is the thinking and supervisory cell of a country. The very best manpower has to be brought there in order to be able to work for the betterment of the people... They must be given the right environment, the right setting in which they could produce their very best."



THE POPULATION OF PAKISTAN

Lt. Col. NAZIR AHMAD,
Director-General Central Statistical Office,
Government of Pakistan

OF all the problems with which mankind is confronted today, none is more serious than the rapid population growth. The population of the world at the time of Christ's birth was 25 crore (250 million) ; in 1650 A.D. 50 crore (500 million) ; in 1750 A.D. 70 crore (700 million) ; in 1850 A.D. 110 crore (1.1 billion) ; in 1900 A.D. 150 crore (1.5 billion) and in 1964 A.D. 320 crore (3.2 billion).

These figures show that upto 1900 A.D. it took several thousand years for the world population to grow to 150 crore (1.5 billion) but in the last sixty-five years this figure has more than doubled. At the prevailing rate of average increase, world's population by the turn of the century will exceed 600 crore (6 billion) which means 100 per cent increase in 35 years. This accelerating increase is a matter of profound social significance.

Today Pakistan, India and China have 40 per cent of the world's population but only 10 per cent of its territory.

East Pakistan with an average of 922 persons per square mile is amongst the most densely populated areas of the world. Japan and U. K. with densities of 671 and 567 per square mile respectively come next to it. The high density of population of East Pakistan is somewhat offset by a low density of only 138 persons per square mile in West Pakistan with the result that the density of Pakistan as a whole becomes 256 persons per square mile. If a countrywise comparison is made the position of Pakistan becomes fourth among the countries included in the above statement.

Excluding Japan and with a few other minor exceptions the rate of population growth of the Asian countries ranges from about 2 to 3 per cent. In Pakistan this is now approximately 2.8 per cent with a gradual upward trend. These rates are considerably higher than those recorded at comparable stages of economic development in any of the now highly developed European countries. Most of the Asian countries are already densely populated and as such they are facing acute problems of unemployment and under-employment with deplorably low levels of living. A further rise of population at the present rate of growth is, therefore, a matter of grave concern for these countries.

POPULATION GROWTH

Since Independence, Pakistan has had two censuses, one in 1951 and the other in 1961. According to these censuses the total population of Pakistan was as follows :

(No. in crores)
(one crore=10 million)

	Pakistan		East Pakistan		West Pakistan	
	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961
Total figure	7.58	9.37	4.20	5.08	3.38	4.29
Percentage increase		23.8		21.2		27.1
Male ..	4.02	4.93	2.20	2.63	1.82	2.30
Percentage increase		23.0		20.1		26.5
Female ..	3.56	4.93	2.00	2.45	1.56	1.99
Percentage increase		24.8		22.5		27.8

The rates of growth per thousands, during the six decades of this century, were in this serial order : 11.9, 6.7, 8.8, 18.8, 7.9, and 23.6. For rural areas they were 8.8, 6.2, 7.5, 17.0, 5.0, and 19.8, while for urban areas they were 8.5, 16.1, 32.1, 44.1, 41.9 and 56.4.

The net rate of population growth depends upon the relative behaviour of three factors : birth rate, death rate and migration. These factors affect the population growth in varying degrees with changes in social, cultural, institutional and economic conditions of the population in a developing country such as Pakistan, where both fertility and mortality levels are already very high and chances of large scale emigration remote, population growth will be influenced mainly by trends in birth and death rates.

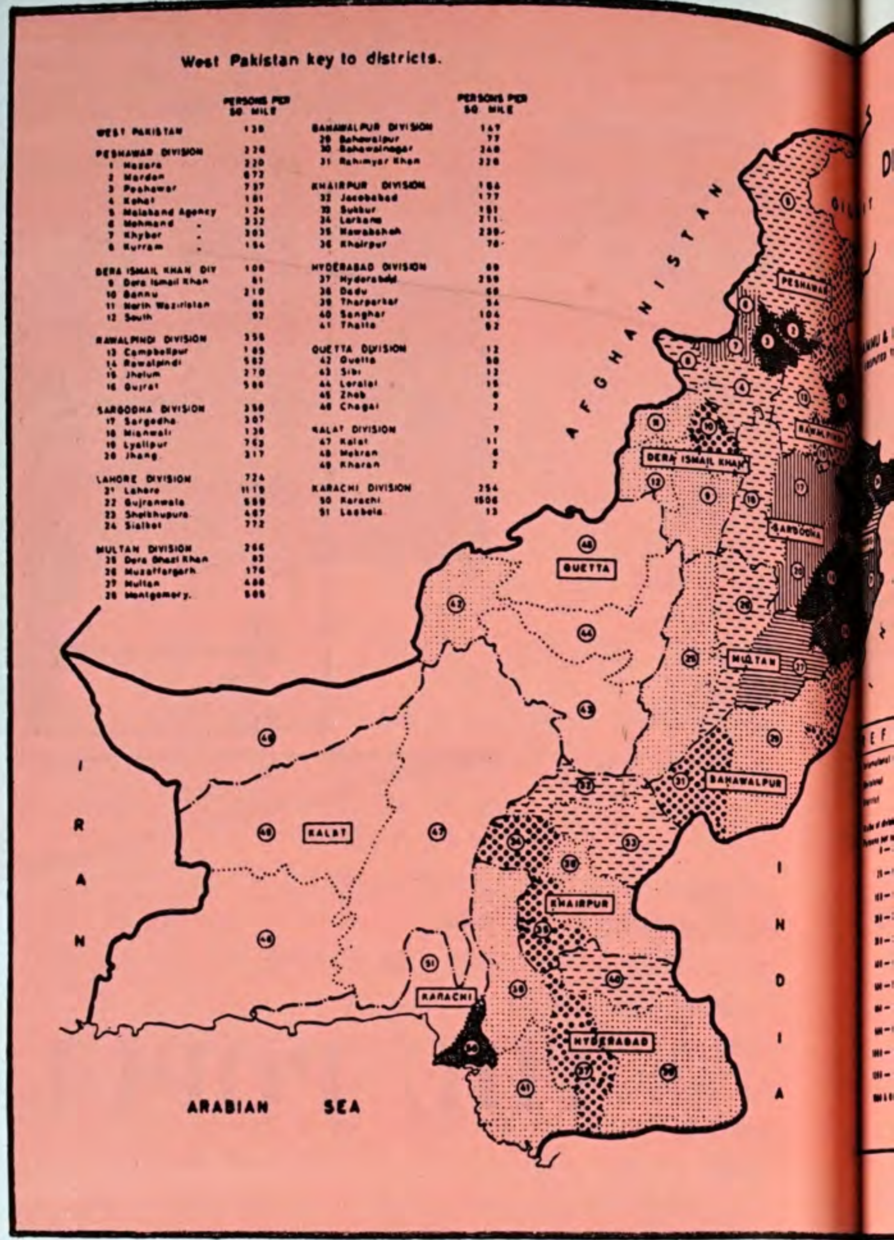
As quick results from family planning programmes are difficult to achieve, the birth rate in Pakistan is expected to remain constant in the short run and if it declines at all, the rate of decrease will be insignificant for a long time. The death rate is, however, on the decline and this trend is likely to continue. Consequently the population will increase at an accelerated pace for a considerable time to come. There is reason to believe that the present estimated rate of population increase of 2.8 per cent per annum will soon approach 3.0 per cent per annum and may even exceed this figure before long. This means that the next census in 1971 may reveal a cumulative increase of nearly 35 per cent over 1961.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

The area of Pakistan (365,529 sq. miles) comprises 3.5 per cent of the land area of Asia, but in 1961 it contained 5.5 per cent population of the continent and had a higher density (256 persons per sq. mile) than the average density (163 persons per sq. mile) of Asia.

For the purpose of computing density the area figures include area under water, *i.e.* rivers, canals and lakes.

The area of East Pakistan comprises 15.1 per cent of the land area of Pakistan but in 1961 it contained 54.2 per cent of the total population of the country. The density of population (922) per square mile in East Pakistan is more than six times the density (138) in West Pakistan. East Pakistan alone, if compared with other countries, leaving aside Hong Kong, Singapore and other tiny islands and places, is the most densely settled area in Asia and the world. Taiwan (764 in 1960) and Japan (657 in 1960) which are the most densely settled countries in Asia are much below the average density of East Pakistan.

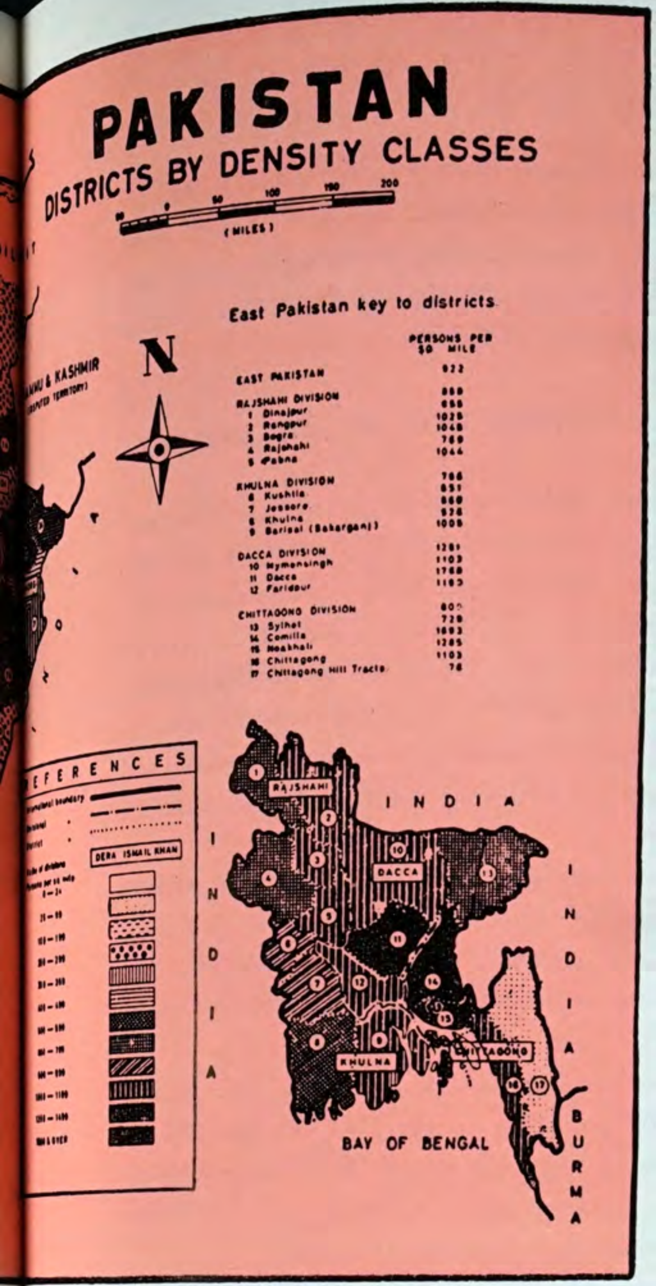

West Pakistan key to districts.
PERSONS PER SQ. MILE
WEST PAKISTAN 138
PESHAWAR DIVISION 328
1 Hazara 220
2 Mardan 672
3 Peshawar 737
4 Kohat 181
5 Malakand Agency 126
6 Mohmand . 332
7 Khyber . 303
8 Kurram . 154
DERA ISMAIL KHAN DIV 108
9 Dera Ismail Khan 81
10 Bannu 210
11 North Waziristan 88
12 South 92
RAWALPINDI DIVISION 355
13 Campbellpur 185
14 Rawalpindi 582
15 Jhelum 270
16 Gujrat 586
SARGODHA DIVISION 358
17 Sargodha 307
18 Mianwali 138
19 Lyallpur 763
20 Jhang 317
LAHORE DIVISION 724
21 Lahore 1119
22 Gujranwala 589
23 Sheikhupura 467
24 Sialkot 772
MULTAN DIVISION 266
25 Dera Ghazi Khan 83
26 Muzaffargarh 176
27 Multan 488
28 Montgomery 505
BAHAWALPUR DIVISION 167
29 Bahawalpur 77
30 Bahawalnagar 248
31 Rahimyar Khan 228
KHAIRPUR DIVISION 186
32 Jacobabad 177
33 Sukkur 181
34 Larkana 211
35 Nawabshah 238
36 Khairpur 78
HYDERABAD DIVISION 89
37 Hyderabad 259
38 Dadu 68
39 Tharparkar 54
40 Sanghar 104
41 Thatta 82
QUETTA DIVISION 12
42 Quetta 88
43 Sibi 13
44 Loralai 15
45 Zhob 8
46 Chagai 2
KALAT DIVISION 7
47 Kalat 11
48 Mekran 8
49 Kharan 2
KARACHI DIVISION 254
50 Karachi 1506
51 Lasbela 13
AFGHANISTAN
IRAN
INDIA
ARABIAN SEA
PESHAWAR
DERA ISMAIL KHAN
SARGODHA
MULTAN
BAHAWALPUR
QUETTA
KALAT
KHAIRPUR
KARACHI
HYDERABAD

The East Pakistan province is divided into four Divisions and sub-divided into 17 districts comprising 59 sub-Divisions, while West Pakistan is divided into 12 Divisions comprising 51 districts. The average population size of a sub-division in East Pakistan and of a district in West Pakistan is almost equal.

From a study of district population tables one finds that :

(*a*) in densely settled East Pakistan there are sub-divisions (Bandarban, Ramgarh and Rangamati) which are more sparsely settled than the average of West Pakistan, and two districts in West Pakistan (Karachi and Lahore) which are more densely settled than the average of East Pakistan.

(*b*) about 28 per cent of the total population of East Pakistan is concentrated in the first 10 most



PAKISTAN DISTRICTS BY DENSITY CLASSES

(MILES)
50
100
150
200
N
East Pakistan key to districts
PERSONS PER SQ MILE
EAST PAKISTAN 922
RAJSHAHI DIVISION 858
1 Dinajpur 655
2 Rangpur 1025
3 Bogra 1048
4 Rajshahi 769
5 Pabna 1044
KHULNA DIVISION 786
6 Kushtia 851
7 Jessore 860
8 Khulna 576
9 Barisal (Bakarganj) 1008
DACCA DIVISION 1281
10 Mymensingh 1103
11 Dacca 1768
12 Faridpur 1103
CHITTAGONG DIVISION
13 Sylhet 728
14 Comilla 1693
15 Noakhali 1285
16 Chittagong 1103
17 Chittagong Hill Tracts 78
DERA ISMAIL KHAN
RAJSHAHI
DACCA
KHULNA
CHITTAGONG
INDIA
INDIA
INDIA
BAY OF BENGAL
BURMA

densely settled sub-divisions which have less than 20 per cent of the total land area of East Pakistan whereas in West Pakistan about 39 per cent of the total population is concentrated in the first 10 most densely settled districts which have only about 7 per cent of the total land area of West Pakistan.

(*c*) the sub-divisions/districts which have smaller area (especially in West Pakistan) have relatively more people. The four largest sub-divisions of East Pakistan and four largest districts of West Pakistan are the ones which are more sparsely populated.

In general the sub-divisions/districts which are sparsely populated are the areas which have comparatively unfavourable conditions for agriculture and are less developed industrially.

(*d*) there is a more even settlement pattern in East Pakistan than in West. East Pakistan, which is less urbanised than West Pakistan, has smaller clusters (about 60,000 villages) than West Pakistan (about 40,000 villages) which tend to be larger agglomerations.

The percentage of rural and urban population to the total and their decennial growth rates are given below :

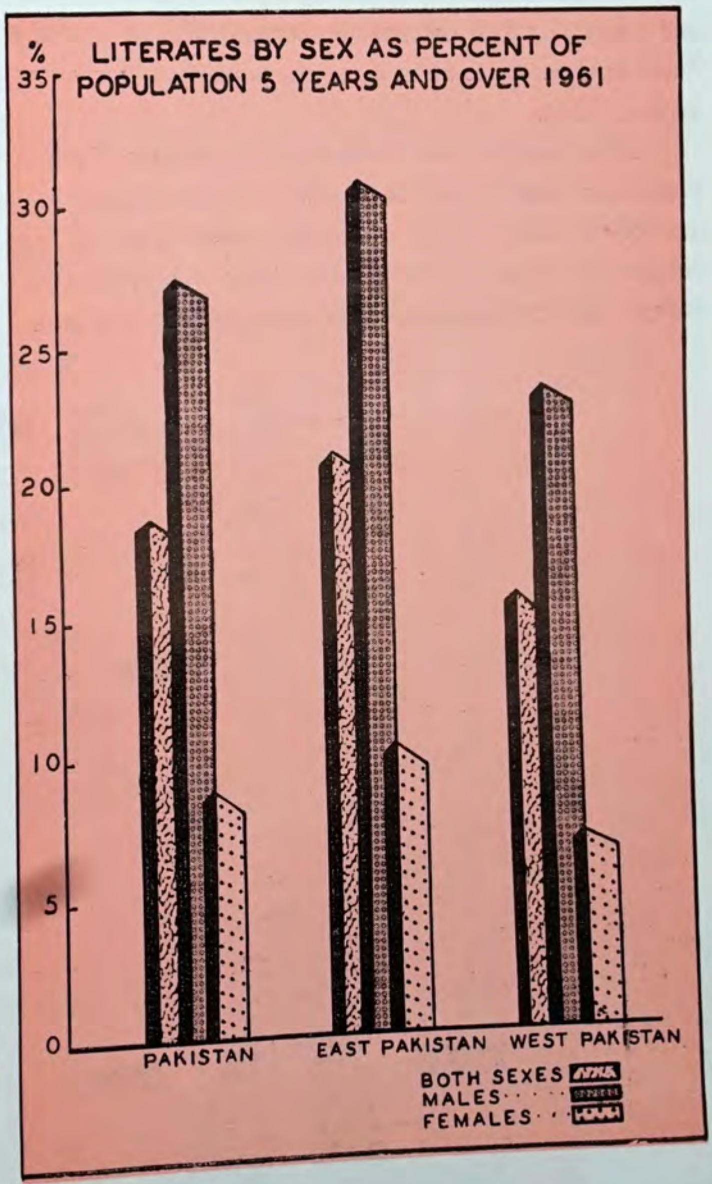
Percentage increase of Rural-Urban Population 1901—1961

Census Year	Population number* (in thousand)			Per cent Distribution		Per cent Increase	
	Total	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1901 ..	45,504	2,321	43,183	5.1	94.9	..	..
1911 ..	50,937	2,496	48,441	4.9	95.1	8.5	8.8
1921 ..	54,363	2,936	51,427	5.4	94.6	16.1	6.2
1931 ..	59,146	3,845	55,301	6.5	93.5	32.1	7.5
1941 ..	70,279	5,552	64,727	7.9	92.1	44.1	17.0
1951 ..	75,842	7,863	67,979	10.4	89.6	41.9	5.0
1961*..	93,720	12,295	81,425	13.1	86.9	56.4	19.8

*Excluding non-Pakistanis.

This gives a picture of gradual shift of population from rural to urban areas over a period of 60 years. Decennial increase starts rising from 8.5 per cent in 1911 to 56.4 per cent in 1961.

Urban population of the areas forming Pakistan has been continuously growing since 1911 at a much faster rate than the rural population. During the decade 1951-1961 the share of urban population has increased from 10.4 per cent to 13.1 per cent. The total population during this period increased by 23.6 per cent but increase in rural population was 19.8 per cent and in urban population 56.4 per cent. In other words the urban population grew at a rate almost three times faster than the rural population. Although the 1961 urban



LITERATES BY SEX AS PERCENT OF POPULATION 5 YEARS AND OVER 1961 ratio of 13.1 per cent is the highest ever, the country continues to be predominantly rural and the urban population is still only a small proportion of the total population.

It may be noted in passing that the urban population in Iran, Japan, the Philippines and Turkey is growing faster than in Pakistan.

The urban population of East Pakistan is less than that of West Pakistan. Even during the decade 1951-1961 the rate of urbanisation in East Pakistan was less than in West Pakistan.

The increase in the urban population is also due to the increase in the number of urban places. There were 276 urban places in 1951 whereas 1961 Census reported 383 such places. In 1961, 130 new places (18 in East Pakistan and 112 in West Pakistan) were added in the urban category. These were either non-existent or considered rural in the 1951 Census. Out of 130 places 20 were merged in the existing urban areas and 110 became independent additional urban areas. There were also three urban places in Bahawalpur District of West Pakistan which lost their population to such an extent that they were classified as rural for the 1961 Census. More than half of 130 new urban places had population less than 5,000 in 1961. The net increase in population through these changes during the decade accounted for 26.5 per cent of the total growth of the urban population.

More than half of the urban population of the country in 1961 was living in cities having a population of 100,000 and above. In East Pakistan less than half and in West Pakistan about three-fifths of urban population was living in such cities.

Although more than 25 per cent of the increase of urban population is due to addition of new areas classified as urban in 1961 yet almost 75 per cent of the growth is due to the effect of net migration (from rural to urban) and reproductive change. Increasing availability of health facilities and growing consciousness of these facilities by urban population have resulted in a gradual but significant decrease of the death rate in urban areas. The constantly increasing excess of birth rate over death rate has also played a significant role in the increase of urban population of Pakistan.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AND SEX

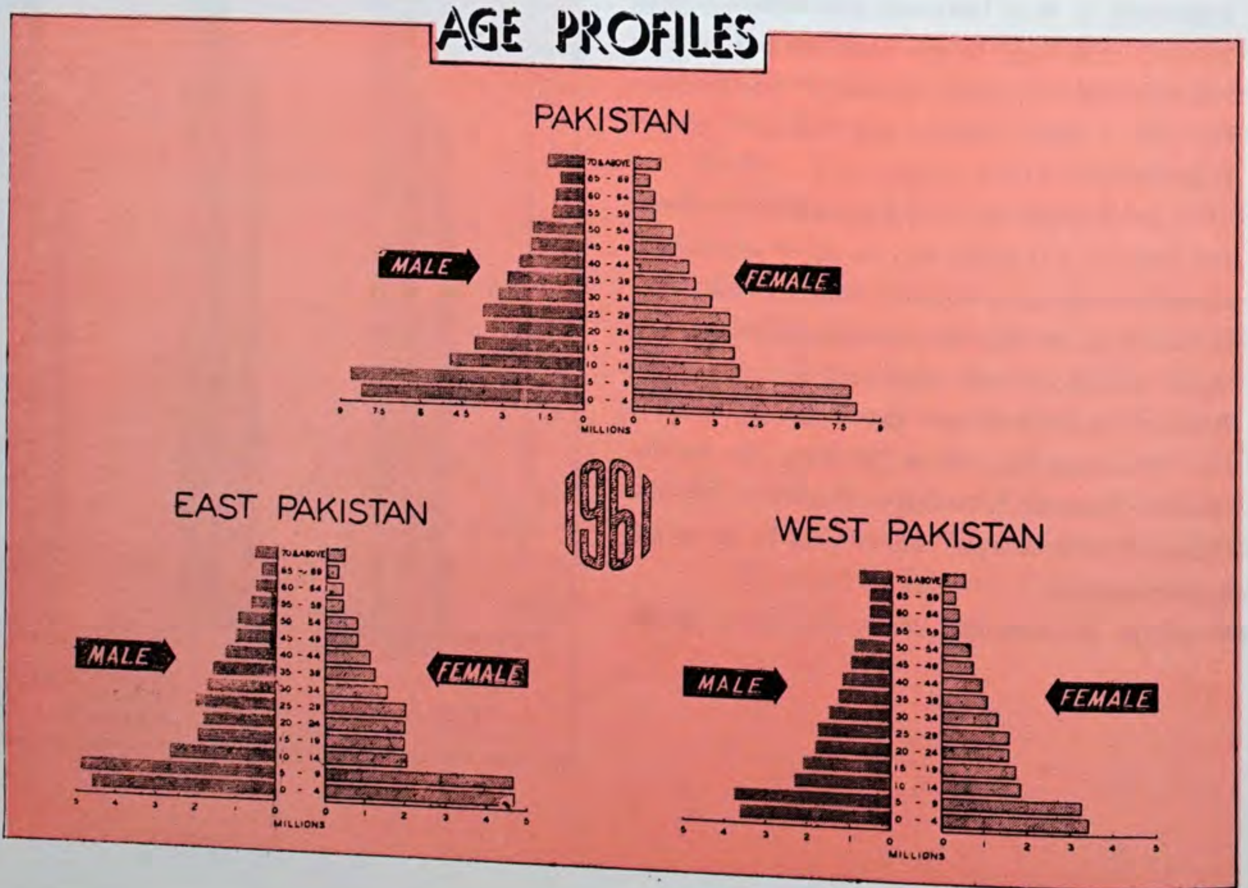
The age structure of a population at any time is the product of the continuous operation of fertility, mortality and migration patterns prevalent in the past. These factors are, in turn, influenced by social and economic conditions. During the past two decades, the area which now forms Pakistan has passed through different stages of social and economic development. The exchange of population between Indian and Pakistan consequent on partition has also influenced the sex and age distribution.

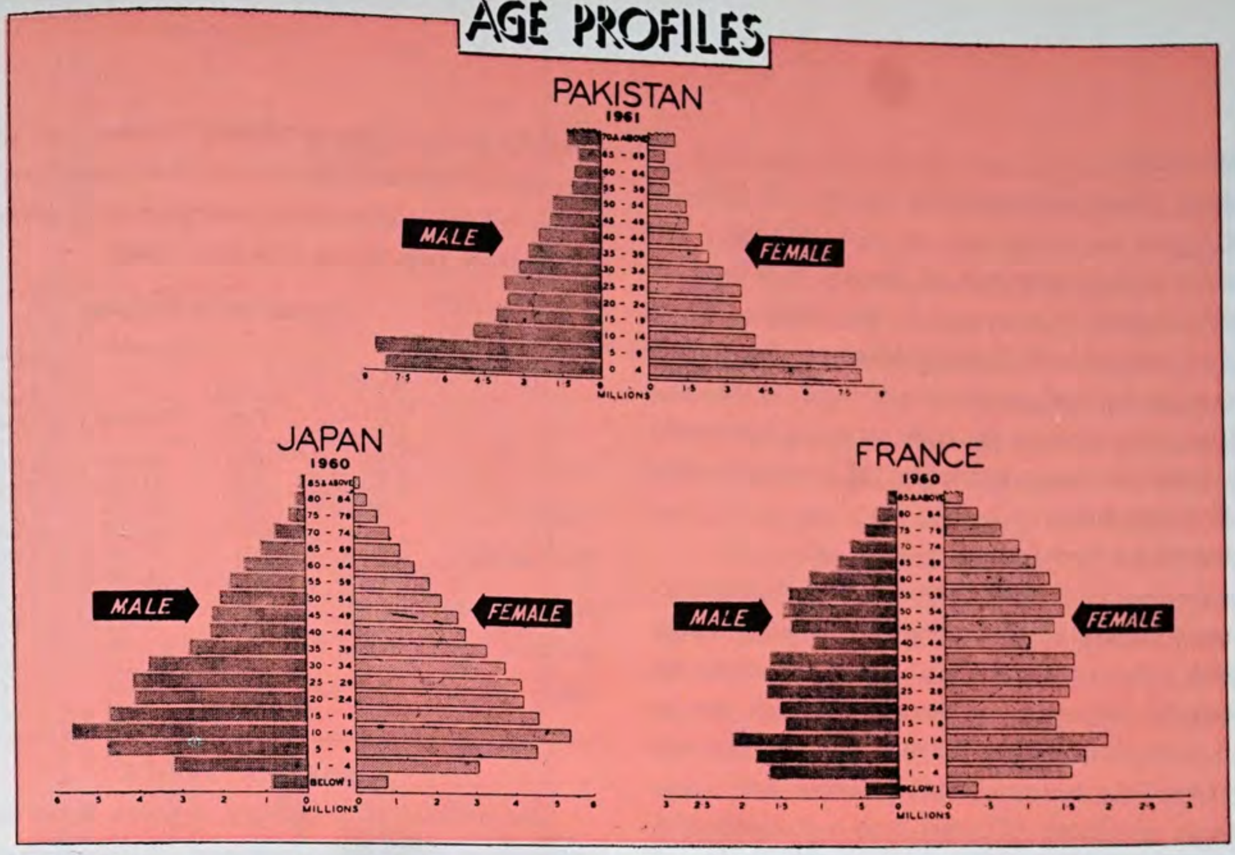
Details of sex and age distribution at the time of 1951 and 1961 Censuses are not free from errors. The usual problem of getting the correct reporting of age prevails. Demographers continue to believe that there is excessive under-reporting of females.

Overall, there are 47.5 million men and 42.7 million women in Pakistan, according to the 1961 census, and the males predominate in every age group, the greatest disparity being in the 10 to 14 group : 4,708,000 to 3,747,000—difference being almost one hundred thousand.

In the marriageable age group of 15 to 39 the number of males is almost a million more than females : 16,593,000 against 15,452,000. The survival age also shows even greater difference, as men 50 and above number 5,860,000 while women number 4,592,000.

Province-wise, the difference between males and females in East Pakistan is 1,800,000 (26,300,000 against 24,500,000) while in West Pakistan it is 3,100,000 (23,000,000 against 19,900,000),




AGE PROFILES

The rate of growth, however, during the period 1951-61 was greater for females in both East and West Pakistan.

In West Pakistan it was 27.8 per cent for females against 26.5 for males ; while in East Pakistan it was 22.5 against 20.1.

The age group 5—9 years has the highest percentage of the population *i. e.* (17.72). The next is 0—4 years group with a percentage of 17.4. In other words 35 per cent of the population is below 10 years of age.

The average proportion of children under 10 years for all urban areas was 30.7 per cent which contrasts with figures of Karachi, 29.8 per cent, Rawalpindi 38.8 per cent, and Chittagong 25.9 per cent, but Lahore and Dacca show 31.0 and 30.2 per cent respectively.

The age group accounting for new entrants to the labour force and for a substantial number of marriages *i. e.* 10—24 group, varied little, as between the big cities, in its relative size in the total population. Most of the cities have 31—32 per cent of their population in this age group. If these age groups are compared with the 1951 Census, the increase in 0—4 years is from 14.6 to 18.2 per cent in East Pakistan and from 13.7 to 16.4 per cent in West Pakistan.

The proportion of children aged 5—9 years as revealed by the 1961 census (18.8 per cent in East Pakistan and 16.4 per cent in West Pakistan) is unparalleled elsewhere in Asia or in the world and has increased more than the proportion of children aged 0—4 years over the decade.

This contrasts with the percentage of children under ten to the total population in other countries: Pakistan 35, Malaysia 33, Iran 27, Turkey 29, Thailand 31, USA 22, England and Wales 15.

An alarming feature of the age distribution of Pakistan's population is the very large proportion at the bottom. This fact coupled with a continuing high birth rate shows not only the mounting strain on the much-too-limited schooling facilities but it also indicates how difficult it will be in the years to come to absorb these growing numbers in productive employment. In diagrams No. 1 and 2 rough profiles of the age structure of Pakistan, France and Japan's population are shown.

Pakistan's work force is carrying more burden of dependency than any other Asian country, and as between the two provinces, East Pakistan has a higher dependency ratio than West Pakistan.

LITERACY AND EDUCATION

Progress of literacy in Pakistan between 1951-1961 cannot be portrayed clearly because the term was defined differently in the two Censuses. In the 1961 Census, a person was considered to be literate if he/she could read with understanding a short statement on every-day life in any language ; inability to write a statement did not exclude him/her from being literate. In the 1951 Census a person was considered literate if he/she could read in clear print in any language. The condition of understanding was absent with the result that even those who could read the Holy Quran without comprehension were included as literates. The coverage of the 1951 Census for literates was, therefore, wider than that of the 1961 Census.

The total literate population in Pakistan in 1961 was 1,43,35,809 which works out to only 15.9 per cent. East Pakistan had a higher percentage of literacy (17.6 per cent) with 89,55,501 literates as compared to West Pakistan having literacy of 13.6 per cent with 53,80,308 literates. The proportion of literates in the total population was higher in the urban areas (30.2 per cent) than in the rural areas (13.6 per cent). In general, relatively lower percentage of literacy in rural areas may be attributed to :

(*i*) less educational facilities in rural areas ;
(*ii*) migration of literates from rural to urban areas ;
(*iii*) more opportunities of work for children on farms, thus reducing possibility of school attendance.

A substantial proportion of literates (14.1 per cent in Pakistan, 16.2 per cent in East Pakistan and 10.7 per cent in West Pakistan) was without formal education and a very high proportion of literates (57.4 per cent in Pakistan, 63.5 per cent in East Pakistan and 47.1 per cent in West Pakistan) had only completed grade V or less. Only a small proportion of literates (7.0 per cent in Pakistan, 3.8 per cent in East Pakistan and 12.4 per cent in West Pakistan) had completed high school or higher education.

The total female literates are less than one-third of the total male literates in Pakistan. This disparity is more prominent in West Pakistan than in East Pakistan, the respective percentages being 26 per cent and 31 per cent. Disparity between the males and females increases further with higher levels of education.

An alarming tendency in our education is a big drop-out of students during the primary and secondary level of education. This trend is most conspicuous in large numbers in the first grade, declining slowly with the higher grades. For example the total enrolment in the primary schools (grade I to V) was 30,56,895 in 1950. If these children had stayed in school they should have passed their matriculation examination during 1955-56 to 1959-60. According to the matriculation results, the total number of passed candidates during the period was 3,26,542 which shows that out of 100 children who entered primary school only 11 passed their matriculation. No doubt, it is not possible for every primary student to pass matric, but the total drop-out to the extent of 89 per cent is a serious limitation to education progress. The expenditure on education by the Central and Provincial Government has more than doubled over the last five years but even this is far too insufficient to provide educational facilities to the growing numbers of children of school-going age.

RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION

Pakistan's population can be divided into four main religious groups ; Muslims, Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes and Christians. The remainder consists of three smaller groups *i. e.* Buddhists, Parsis and tribal people having no identifiable religion. Population according to religion in the two Censuses is given in the following table.

Population by Religion

(*Number in thousand persons*)

	Census Year	Pakistan	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
Total	1951	75,635	41,932	33,703
	1961	93,720	50,840	42,880
Muslims	1951	64,959	32,227	32,732
	1961	82,556	40,890	41,666
Caste Hindus	1951	4,344	4,182	162
	1961	4,590	4,386	204
Scheduled Caste ..	1951	5,421	5,052	369
	1961	5,411	4,993	418
Christians	1951	540	107	433
	1961	733	149	584
Others	1951	366	359	7
	1961	429	421	8

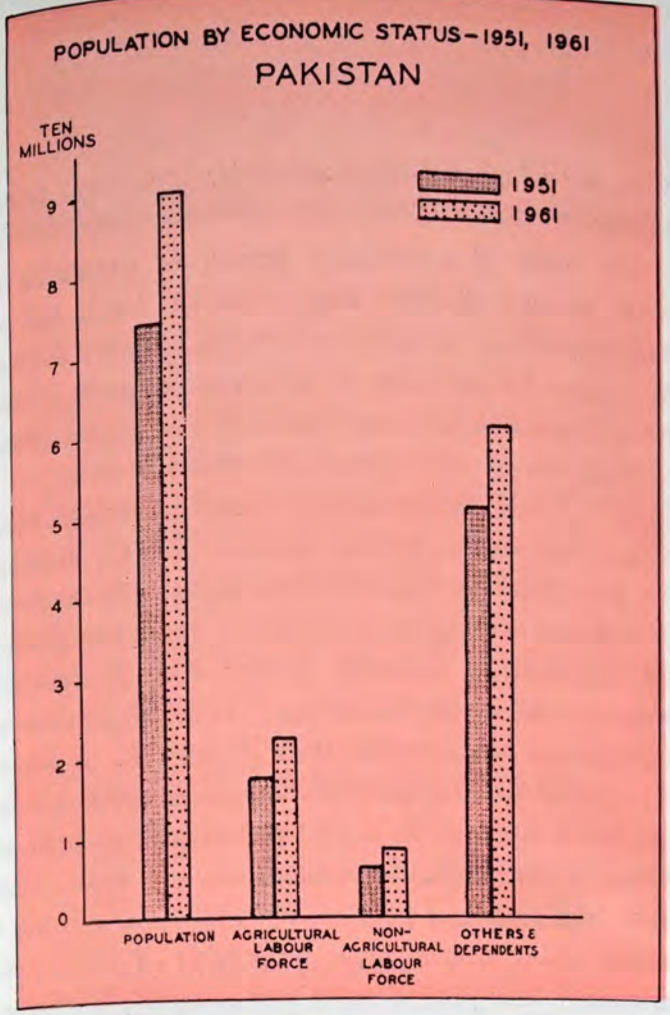
LABOUR FORCE

The welfare of a country depends upon the effective utilisation of its two basic resources : the land and the people. The more fundamental of the two is the human potential and therefore a study of this is of special importance.

According to the 1961 Census of Pakistan all persons other than those employed in defence services who were 10 years of age and above and were working for profit or earning a wage or salary, or were helping some other member of the family in his trade or profession and those who were looking for work were treated as constituting the civilian labour force. Those persons who were not working but looking for work were treated as unemployed. Persons neither working nor looking for work were excluded from the labour force. In theory, if a cultivator's wife worked in the fields she was to be included in the labour force but in practice she was often excluded by the census enumerators. The definition did not take into account 'farm work' done by children under 10 years of age.

For inclusion in the civilian labour force the age limit in 1961 Census was 10 years but in the 1951 Census only persons 12 years and above were included in the labour force. However, the analysis of the 1951 Census shows that there was a heaping at the age group 10—11. It was suspected that some of the children 12 years and above who were working and were actually a part of the labour force were excluded. To facilitate comparison with the 1951 Census data, the age group 10—11 is shown distinctly in census tabulations.

There is a seasonal variation for the demand of labour during the sowing and harvesting seasons of main crops such as jute and rice in East Pakistan and wheat and cotton in West Pakistan. If the seasonal workers are enumerated when they are performing no economic function, they will be reported neither working nor looking for work. Conversely if the census is taken at the time of planting and harvesting,



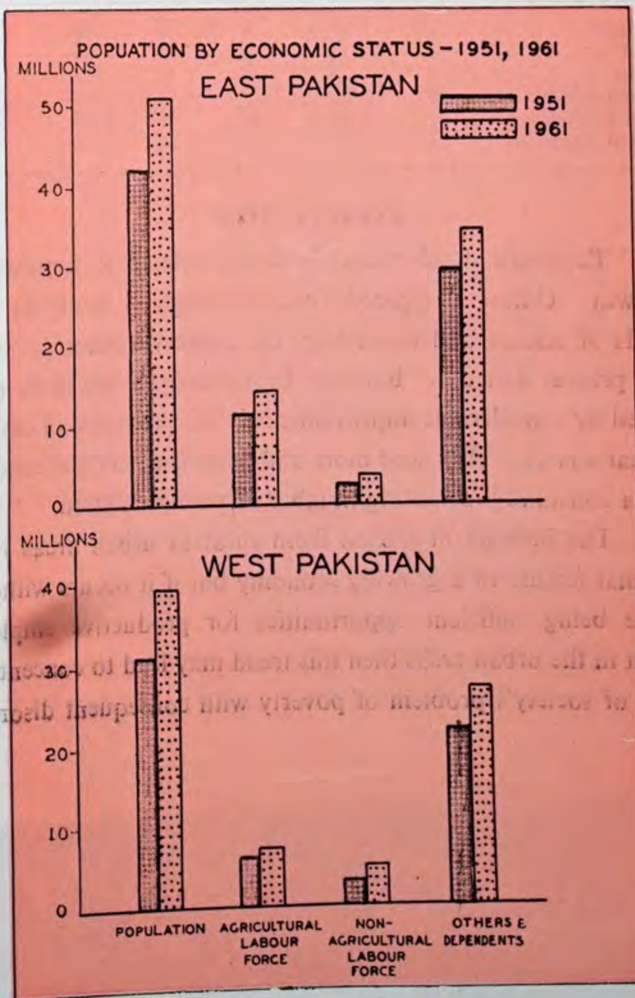
the size of labour force in agriculture may be larger. Therefore no specific reference period was provided for agricultural workers so that such persons who normally work during a substantial period of the year were not excluded. Nevertheless, the possibility of exclusion from labour force of housewives and unpaid family helpers who worked seasonally cannot be ruled out.

The total population of Pakistan in 1961 can be classified according to broad economic categories. There were 3,02,05,951 persons in the civilian labour force of whom 2,64,43,488 were males and 37,62,493 females, excluding the Frontier Region of Pakistan. The civilian labour force comprised 33.5 per cent of the total population, 55.7 per cent males and 8.8 per cent among females. Out of the total population, East Pakistan showed 34.31 per cent and West Pakistan 32.4 per cent. Civilian labour force of females in East Pakistan showed a high percentage (10.8 per cent) than in West Pakistan (6.1 per cent). Civilian labour force in East Pakistan represented a higher percentage (35.8 per cent) in the urban population than in the rural population (34.2 per cent). But in West Pakistan the civilian labour force represented a higher percentage in rural population (33.2 per cent) than in urban population (29.9 per cent).

The total civilian labour force of working status in Pakistan is 99.0 per cent. The census of 1961 revealed that the number of persons not working but looking for work was 3,06,357 *i. e.* 1.0 per cent of the total civilian labour force in Pakistan. This would appear to be a very low percentage but it must be remembered that it conceals a high degree of under-employment. The percentage of persons not working but looking for work to total civilian labour force was higher in urban areas (2.7 per cent) than in rural areas (0.8 per cent). The number of persons seeking work was greater in West Pakistan (2,21,704) than in East Pakistan (84,653). In urban areas the percentage of such persons to total civilian labour force in East and West Pakistan was 2.3 per cent and 2.8 per cent respectively. The corresponding percentages are lower in rural areas being 0.4 per cent and 1.4 per cent respectively. The number of females in West Pakistan not working but looking for work was 6,883 whereas in East Pakistan it was 1,195.

74.3 per cent of the total civilian labour force was employed in agriculture, 72.2 per cent being tillers of the soil and the remaining 2.1 per cent comprised agriculturists other than tillers of soil such as orchards and nursery workers, malis, dairy farmers, poultry keepers, tea garden labourers etc. Out of the total civilian force, 25.7 per cent comprised the non-agricultural labour force. On the agriculture side the percentage of females in the civilian labour force was the highest (85.3 per cent), the percentage of other agriculturists to the civilian labour force was also higher among females (2.5 per cent) than among males (2.1 per cent).

Between the two provinces the percentage of agricultural labour force to total civilian labour force is much higher in East Pakistan (85.3 per cent) than in West Pakistan (39.3 per cent). This fact brings out the greater preponderance of agriculture in East Pakistan. Number as well as percentage of the civilian labour force of agriculturists, other than tillers of soil, is higher in West Pakistan than in East Pakistan. Non-agricultural labour force in West Pakistan is about double in number than that of East Pakistan. Percentage of non-agricultural labour force to total civilian labour force among females is much higher in West Pakistan (29.6 per cent) than in



East Pakistan (8.4 per cent).

The total population of Pakistan has increased by 23.7 per cent whereas the increase in civilian labour force is 31.4 per cent during the decade. During this period non-agricultural labour force showed an increase of 39.7 per cent as compared to agricultural labour force where the increase was only 28.7 per cent. Increase in civilian labour force as compared to the increase in the provincial population during this decade is higher in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan. It is interesting to note that during this period the agricultural force increased by 33.8 per cent in East Pakistan whereas the non-agricultural labour force increased by 55.0 per cent in West Pakistan. During the period under review the rate of increase in the non-agricultural labour force in East Pakistan and agricultural labour force in West Pakistan is lower than the rate of increase in the respective provincial population. This aspect shows the relative decrease in the proportion of non-agricultural labour force in East Pakistan and of agricultural labour force in West Pakistan.

Distribution of the labour force by the extent of urbanization and by types of occupational categories furnishes a very good index of the degree of economic development achieved by a country. The Table below gives a rough comparison of Pakistan in this respect with a few selected countries. This comparison brings out clearly the backward nature of Pakistan's economy and the shifts in employment required to be achieved **before the country is able to develop an industrial society.**

Distribution of labour force given between different categories of programmes

Country	Per cent Urbanization	Percentage of economically active male population by type of occupational categoty.				Other occupations
		Manufacturing	Commerce	Services	Agriculture	
Pakistan ..	14	9	6	7	70	8
India	20	12	6	11	64	7
Japan	45	25	13	12	33	17
United States ..	67	33	17	17	10	23
West Germany ..	75	38	10	13	15	24
United Kingdom	75	40	12	18	6	24

CONCLUSION

Economic development is closely related to population growth. Unless a vigorous break-through is made in the fields of science and technology the country cannot get over her present difficulties but such break-through has to be preceded by considerable improvements in the provision of educational services. We need more and more teachers and schools for a constantly increasing number of young children.

The internal migration from rural to urban areas is a normal feature of a growing economy but if it occurs without there being sufficient opportunities for productive employment in the urban areas then this trend may lead to concentration of society's problem of poverty with consequent disorganization, instead of providing a means for social and economic progress.

The trend of accelerating growth of population in Pakistan, which is the third largest country of Asia, has important implications not only for her own economic development but also for the future progress and prosperity of Asia to whose population she is contributing at a rate which exceeds the average rate of overall population growth in Asia.

In a period of demographic transition through which Pakistan is passing at present, control of infant mortality, and a general decline in death rates coupled with continuing high birth rates have far-reaching effects on the age composition of the population. Currently 35 per cent of Pakistan's population is below 10 years of age ; in developed countries this proportion is usually less than 25 per cent. A country which has a smaller proportion of children can devote resources which would otherwise be needed for bringing up additional children, on improvements in education and health, which, in turn, lead to greater productivity. The reverse is true of countries which have a larger proportion of children and consequently their pace of social and economic development is considerably slowed down.

The major factors in the growth of population are birth and death rates. Death rates decline rapidly as a result of preventive and curative measures in public health that have come into being in the recent decades. In fact such decline has already taken place in Pakistan and the next few years will see further decline in death rates. The imbalance created by this can only be corrected by planned measures to reduce birth rates. Omission to do this will deprive the country of the benefits of the frantic efforts that are being made to step up economic development and may lead to an explosive situation.

Uneven internal distribution of population also causes disorganization. At times the distribution of the population is not related to the availability of other resources. The heavy accumulation in urban areas in recent years is an example. Rapid migration to urban areas may not always be a consequence of better employment opportunities in the cities. Sometimes it can be caused by under-employment in rural areas, reinforced by rapid population increase. Pakistan seems to be in such a situation. The possibility of solving the population problem by internal redistribution of the population appears limited. Considerable efforts have been made to develop land settlement schemes to provide better distribution of population in relation to land resources but these have not yet produced a lasting improvement in the demographic picture. The establishment of factories in rural areas may solve this problem to some extent and at present this problem is being given serious consideration by the Government.

Poems

AFTER THE ATOMIC WAR

ABU SAID QURESHI

Dry is the sap on tender paddy stalks
And the wounded wheat plant drips blood.
Agonized sea-shells on the shore
Spill out raw pearls.
Scorched wings of butterflies in the garden
Turn into ashes as they fall on blistered flowers.
Musical instruments now send up smoke.
Loud wails arise from gatherings of men.
The tavern turns into a home of horrors,
Wine cups are overturned, the casks agape.
Farhaad, head hung in thought, pickaxe on shoulder,*
meditates.
Who, what am I ?
Parvez, the emperor, Farhaad the labourer,
stone-breaker,
Who are they ?
And who is Shireen in her many-pillared palace ?
The book of evolution now is ended.
Man wanders in the waste of the unknown.
The lively noisy gathering subsides.
The very eye-lids of the sun droop, close,
In human hearts, all aspiration dies.
The tale of Sheherzade comes to an end.

Translated from the Urdu by S. AMJAD ALI

THE FALL OF THE PRISON

SHABBIR HASAN JOSH

Now shakes the Indian prison house, and echo
cries of "God is Great",
Some desperate captives break their chains and
shackles as they agitate.
Under the walls the captive mobs now crowd,
outside the prison bars,
With lightning flashing in their hearts, and in
their eyes bright scimitars.
Their hungry eyes shoot thunder bolts, the guns
no longer boom and blast,
The lips of Fate are trembling now, and cunning
seems to breath her last.
Blood-shot and red the beggar's eyes, and pale
are now the heads of states,
Destruction spreads her pennant now, and
mighty structures lie prostrate.
The people's persecutors, they who robbed
of peace the people's hearts,
Knew not the earth will well up snakes, and
from above fall poisoned darts.
Yes, little they know who sealed the lips, and
strove to keep the masses tame,
That soon this silence will explode, and from
these lips speech burst like flames.
Hark, for a commotion fills the jail ; *watch, captives*
now their freedom gain ;
Rise, for the prison walls collapse, run, for now
snaps the binding chain.

Translated from the Urdu by S. AMJAD ALI

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*Farhaad, the great lover, who adored Shireen, wife of the Persian Emperor Parvez, was put off by Shireen by being asked to dig a channel through hills and make it flow with milk. When the canal was nearing completion, he was falsely informed that Shireen had died. Atonce he killed himself with a pickaxe.

8000 RURAL REP

TIME moves slowly in the villages of Pakistan, so that it is measured by the day and not by the hour, by the calendar and not by the clock. This is all the more true in the desert country that lies along the middle reaches of the Indus River, with its sparsely populated and widely scattered habitations.

I was not surprised, therefore, when I went to attend the meeting of the newly set up Union Council in village Khola near Mianwali town, to find that members kept pouring in for the meeting all day long from the near-by villages. Seventy year old Suleiman had riden a horse from village Selwan right across the Indus, which is fordable here during the winter. Others had come from half a dozen other villages to represent a total population of about thirteen thousand in this Union Council, which is one of the new rural republics set up in Pakistan.

By late afternoon the members were all gathered in the courtyard of the local elementary school. A table had been set under a tree, and the twentyone members sat around it, some on chairs and some on cots or bed-steads woven of a tough string made from a local grass. Their horses were tethered or left grazing nearby.

This was a very serious occasion for the members, as they

Members of Union Council Kolian (District Gujrat) meeting in the Union Office

A member addresses a meeting of Union Committee Tejgaon in Dacca

An informal outdoor meeting of Union Council Ata Shisha in north-west Pakistan

LICS

S. AMJAD ALI

The Deputy Commissioner visits a Union Council in District Mianwali

were gathered to discuss and approve their annual budget. Some officials from Mianwali town also were present by invitation, to guide and advise these new democrats. But the responsibility was entirely theirs whether they wanted to build a school first or a hospital, a road or an irrigation channel. They, too, were to decide whether they wanted to levy taxes on house-holds or trades, vehicles or animals, or whatever, and in what degree.

"THE INSOLENCE OF OFFICE"

The momentousness of the event can be realized only by a person who has an idea of the state of utter neglect and helplessness in which the villagers of Pakistan have lived, both under their recent imperial rulers and their erstwhile native despots. Having known only to be ordered about by domineering and absolute officials, it is a wonderful new experience for them to be able to manage their own affairs and to take decisions for themselves. Two-thirds of the members of this council were illiterate. All were small farmers of humble means. But even if they had been more affluent, they would have been as dirt before even the most petty officials. And today, they were sitting as equals with these minions of the governments. Apart from that, the mere fact that they had been elevated to the position of councillors and given the authority to manage the affairs of their locality, was a tremendous boost to their morale, and a source of inspiration.

Twenty-three hundred years ago, when Alexander the Great swept right across West Pakistan from north to south, the observers who accompanied him wrote that they found village republics flourishing all over the country. These self-contained little communities maintained a hardy existence while empires rose and fell under successive waves of invasions. This, however, was not due to the tolerance of kings and emperors, but because communications were so poor that it was impossible to keep a tight control over such a vast countryside. The weaker the central government, the stronger the village communities had to become in sheer self-defence. With improved communications, however, the modern despots were able to make their power felt more strongly. The traditions of local self-government withered away as the net of a powerful centralized administration fell on them more and more tightly. The art of democracy was lost through disuse, and the exploited masses were left benumbed in spirit, and despoiled materially.

A school building at Sarai Alamgir near Jhelum, built by the local Union Council

DABBLING IN DEMOCRACY

Then came independence to Pakistan eighteen years ago, and the leaders of the country tried to graft immediately the British system of parliamentary democracy that they had known best and admired deeply. But the population of Britain was educated, politically mature, socially homogenous, and concentrated in a small territory where representation was possible through one parliament. None of these conditions obtained in Pakistan and so the attempt was destined to failure. Seven governments changed in twelve years 1947-58), and politics became an irresponsible game in the national parliament and in the assemblies of the provinces. This was so because it had no relation to or contact with the masses. Universal adult franchise was given to the people and they were asked to elect representatives out of huge constituencies, from amongst candidates whom they had never known, on issues and party programmes that they did not understand.

Meeting of a Union Committee in the north-western parts of the country

Naturally all political activity remained unrealistic, and furthermore it was corrupt. Uncontrolled by an intelligent electorate, the politicians turned parties into personal factions, and indulged in endless wrangling, until things came to such a pass that the Speaker of the East Pakistan Assembly was mobbed and killed by hostile members in the House (1958).

COUNTRYWIDE VILLAGE REPUBLICS

Democracy came to Pakistan in quite another garb in 1960. Without any of the old pomp and circumstance, eight thousand little republics are functioning all over this extensive country of three hundred sixty five thousand square miles.

In the dry and cold north-west of Pakistan, a council is meeting in a high ceilinged adobe common-room or "hujra". While little china cups of steaming green tea go round, there is heated discussion on the serious problem of the decreasing water in the irrigation channels of the village farms. A fiery

A meeting of the District Council Finance Sub-Committee of Peshawar District, in progress under the chairmanship of the Deputy Commissioner

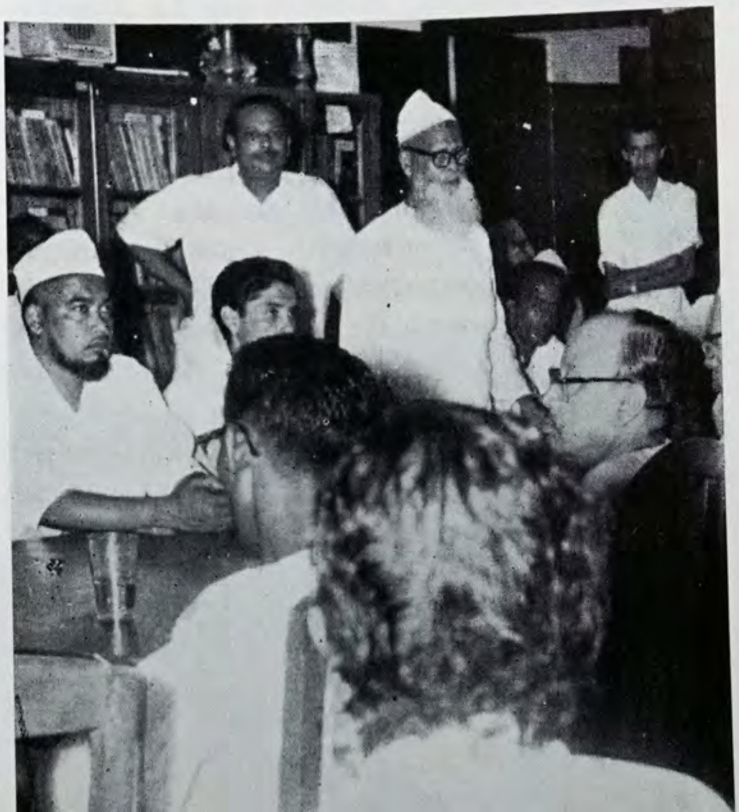
Chairman of Union Committee Model Town Lahore, talking with some members

A meeting of a Union Committee in East Pakistan

young man upbraids the people for wasting time till the Irrigation Department comes to their help. He dares them to get together and make a small dam to conserve the water in the mountain stream and thus avert the threat of famine.

In the riverain plain of the Five Rivers, where irrigation has reached saturation point, another council is sitting in the shade of shisham trees on a raised round platform or "dera" in the centre of the village, which is the local club. While the big "hookah" or hubble-bubble is passed round, they rack their brains over the menace of waterlogging and salinity created by the rising level of underground water. One member points out that the problem has been accentuated by the large pool of water that is allowed to stand just outside the village and which turns into a huge swamp during the monsoon season. If a channel could be dug to drain out this water into a nearby stream, much land could be saved and the subsoil water level lowered.

Scene at a crowded Union Committee meeting



A member addresses his Union Committee on pressing local problem

In the green woodland surroundings of an East Pakistan village, yet another council is sitting. Drinks have just been served right off the green coconuts whose big heavy shells are lying around, sliced at one end to make a hole. The members are pondering on the yearly visitation of the terrible cyclone that strikes soon after the monsoon season and floods the good land with salt water all along the sea shore. More and more land is being swallowed up by the sea every year. One venerable member tells the council how others have built embankments to protect their fields and to win more land from the sea. Why couldn't they do the same ?

Right up in the mountainous north, notice the mud and timber village nestling in the barren hills. Icy winds blow from the snow-covered peaks that are visible in the distance. As the clouds sail by across the wintry sky, the sombre hills smile wanly in the fleeting sunshine. Suddenly the music of pipe and drum echoes in the valley, and the hardy Pathans of Hazara step out into the open to dance one of their lively

Kot Bari Road construction in progress at Comilla under the auspices of the local Union Council

and martial dances. Their long tunics and baggy trousers flutter in the wind as they move gaily in a circle round the drummers and pipers.

They are not celebrating a wedding or a victory in war, but the completion of a new road that will for the first time connect many villages to the two towns of Abbottabad and Havelian, besides shortening the distance between these two also. The work was done by the villagers themselves under the leadership of their Union Council, Jhangi.

ERSTWHILE APATHY

This was not so before, and the new spirit that moves the people is undoubtedly the result of the challenge of democratic living that has been thrown to them by the new councils. Previously they waited for badly needed public utilities to be built by the Public Works Department, but in this huge country the Department could satisfy very few indeed, with its limited resources. The lethargy and sheer apathy of the villagers was a byword. They would rather walk many miles out of their way to cross a stream than build another bridge or start a ferry service ; they would cooly watch the womenfolk trudge miles to a far-off stream to fill pitchers and not make a channel to bring in the water ; their children might walk in the torrid sun for miles to go to school but they would not try to provide another nearby ; they would look with philosophical resignation at the dirty village lanes and stinking open drains and not move a little finger.

In village Saalim near Gujrat, some Pakistani and foreign social workers went and started cleaning one of the lanes to shame the villagers into action, but they only smiled and looked on. When the disappointed party was leaving, one villager cynically remarked, "If only they would come again, we could have one more lane cleaned."

Now a Union Council has been set up in this area also, and the responsibility has been placed squarely on the shoulders of the villagers themselves. The result is that the same villagers have not only cleaned all the lanes and repaired all the drains but have carried the war upon dirt outside the village by tackling the problem of the perennial muddy pools that adorned the approaches to this as to many other villages in the monsoon belt. A committee was formed and it decided to fill the pond with earth and to build a mile long road up to the highway. The road was divided into five parts and each of the five sections in the village was given the responsibility of building a dirt road twenty feet wide and two and a half feet high. When the task was completed, people who had known the traditions of the village couldn't believe their eyes. But this sort of thing has been happening all over the country.

FACTION-RIDDEN VILLAGES

If apathy was one, factionalism was another besetting sin of the village folk. In village Jandiala near Sheikhupura all peaceful progress was made impossible by the factions into which the village was divided because some were Pathans and some were Khokars. But any excuse would have been good enough, some ancestoral grudge between two families, some dispute over land, and the whole village would be divided into two factions. Rehmoo's cow has strayed into the field of Mamdu and ruined the crop; Rehmat has taken water from the irrigation channel when it was Ahmed's turn ; some youngster has cast loving glances at a maid from the opposite group—and straightaway the stage was set for a fight.

Now when an incident like this takes place, it is brought up before the courts set up under the Union Councils. They can try only small cases and cannot award jail sentences but the fines they can impose and the moral pressure they can exert can make the culprit see reason. Hundreds and thousands of age old disputes are being settled by the Union Councils. In fact, factional rivalry has now taken a very different turn. When a new road or canal is being laid out for the village, there is rivalry among the villagers as to who shows greater spirit of self-sacrifice in giving up his land for public good. In village Gangalzai near Quetta, a 200-acre field was the bone of contention. When the local Union Council was set up, both parties withdrew the claim in favour of the Council, which then laid out an orchard on the land. This is growing apace and is likely to become a good source of revenue for the Council.

A road constructed by Union Council Shahbaz Garhi in north-west Pakistan

NEW USE FOR TIME

A third feature of village life in Pakistan is the lack of recreational facilities and part-time or seasonal occupations to fill the long periods of idleness that the farmer faces. This is the root of most of the evils, as idleness is proverbially the devil's workshop. Now it is good to see, wherever you go in a village, they have set up Star and Crescent Youth Clubs, and Craft Centres for women where they can sew or embroider or make things, and, for the men various small industries are being set up that can be run with local raw material, as making ropes, baskets, mats, rugs and carpets. Union Councils are organizing funfairs, where sports events are combined with educational side-lights and demonstration stalls to teach better farming or handicrafts. The people are being constantly drawn into campaigns of one sort or another—Tree Plantation Week, Cleanliness Drive, Anti-Rice-borer Campaign in West and Anti-Water-hyacinth Campaign in East Pakistan, where this beautiful plant is the great menace of rice crops. Above all, there is the colossal Rural Works Programme through which hundreds of small projects are being undertaken in the villages by the surplus man-power available there.

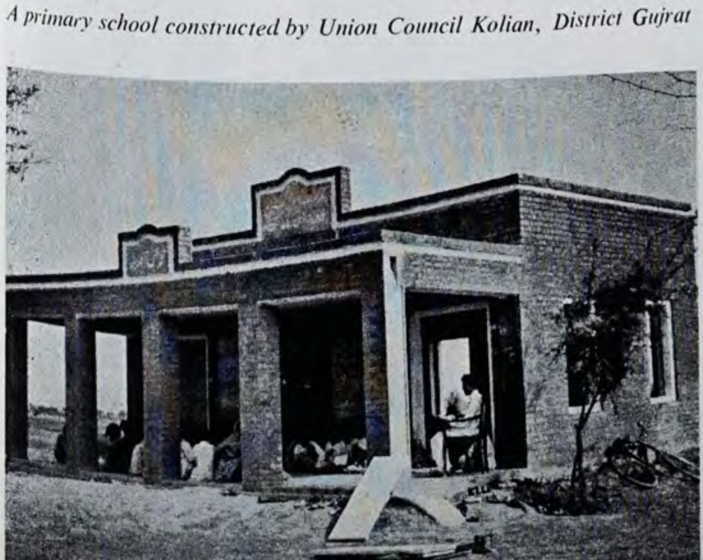
Individually none of these enterprises may have much importance, and readers in the great cities of the world may smile to read this so-called "progress" in the villages of Pakistan. Why, even the big daily newspapers of Pakistan do not find much news value in them, if they ever get to know of them. And of course it is difficult to learn of these little achievements because newspapers and news agencies are not equipped to cover these goings-on in the far-flung villages of the country. There are almost a hundred thousand villages in Pakistan. Hundreds of them do not even have a dirt road connecting them to any town or city, so that even if some enterprising person wants to go to one of them, he does not find it easy. And yet in these villages live four-fifths of the hundred million people of Pakistan.

TOO VAST FOR GOVERNMENT

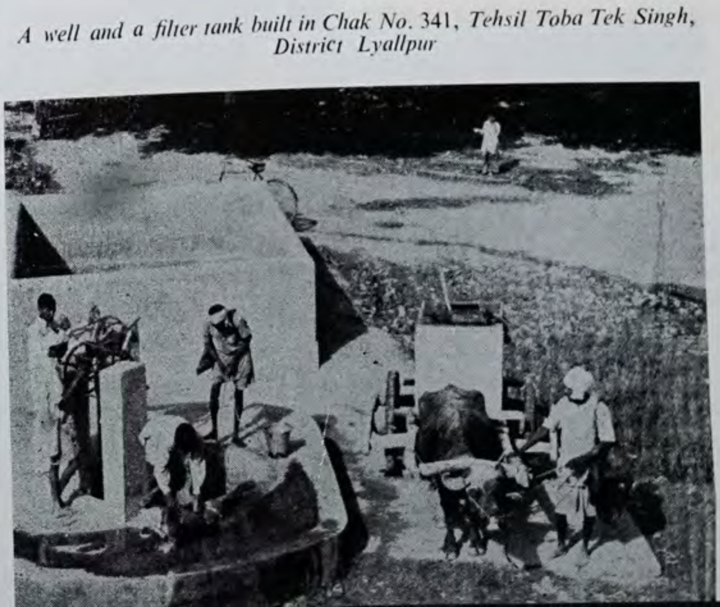
There is no doubt a fairly progressive part of the nation that lives in the sixteen large cities (population above a hundred thousand) of which the largest is Karachi, with a population of two and a half million, but these centres are still no more than islands in a vast countryside. In Karachi, Lahore, Dacca, and elsewhere there are ultra-modern industrial plants producing textiles, cement, paper, and a variety of other goods in abundance. But again the backbone of the economy is farming and the farmer. Wheat and cotton in West, rice and jute in East Pakistan, are the real wealth of the country.

Some prosperity came to the farmer when the prices of farm commodities rose during the second world war and later in the Korean war, but this is only comparative, and the vast majority of the farmers still eke out a miserable living from a small holding of four or five acres. And even if they are able to raise their individual earnings a little, their surroundings remain the same, public amenities and facilities are poor or non-existent, and their general way of life continues to be rude and rustic.

A primary school constructed by Union Council Kolian, District Gujrat



A well and a filter tank built in Chak No. 341, Tehsil Toba Tek Singh, District Lyallpur



A well being constructed on self-help basis by union Council Wagah, in Lahore District

A dispensary under construction at Chak No. 582, Khopran, in Tehsil Jaranwala, District Lyallpur

LOCAL REPUBLICS ONLY ANSWER

The reason of course was that they had no organization to attend to their public needs, and they themselves had neither the ability nor the initiative. No centralized or tightly controlled government could solve the problems of such a vast countryside, because no one could afford such a vast staff to attend to them all. The only solution was to throw the responsibility on the shoulders of the people themselves. But this meant giving authority and local autonomy, as also some financial help and guidance, atleast at first. Only a national government and that too a very patriotic one could do this.

BASIC DEMOCRACIES ORDINANCE

This bold step was taken, of all persons, by a military man who had taken over the government of the country from wrangling and corrupt politicians in October, 1958. President Ayub declared even on the day that he took over that his ultimate object was to restore democracy, "but of a type that suited to the country". First he introduced essential reforms by stopping black-marketing and hoarding and smuggling by businessmen, by screening corrupt officials and raising the moral tone of the administration, and above all by abolishing land-lordism beyond a certain limit, as this was the biggest hurdle in the way of setting up a democratic society in the villages. Having cleared the decks, he announced, exactly one year after taking over power, a new system of what he called Basic Democracies, under which eight thousand rural republics were to be set up all over the country. Every one thousand persons or so, of the population (200 to 300 adult voters) was to elect one representative from their immediate neighbourhood on the basis of universal adult franchise, and every council was to embrace a population of about ten thousand persons. These councils were given the authority to try petty crimes, and small civil suits, to maintain a village police, to build roads, canals, and other public works, to organize sanitation and garbage disposal, to run adult literacy centres and to help set up schools, to form co-operatives for sale of good seeds, fertilizers and implements, and a variety of other functions whose list is constantly expanding.

In each of the basic administrative areas of the country (called Tehsil in West, and Thana in East Pakistan) the chairmen of all the councils were to meet in a co-ordinating council, where an equal number of local governments functionaries were to sit with them—those dealing with such nation-building departments as education, health, irrigation, agriculture, and the like. There the elected members could discuss their problems with the paid workers on the job.

Above these Tehsil or Thana Councils, of which there are six hundred,*there is another tier of eighty-five District Councils* covering the larger administrative area of that name. This

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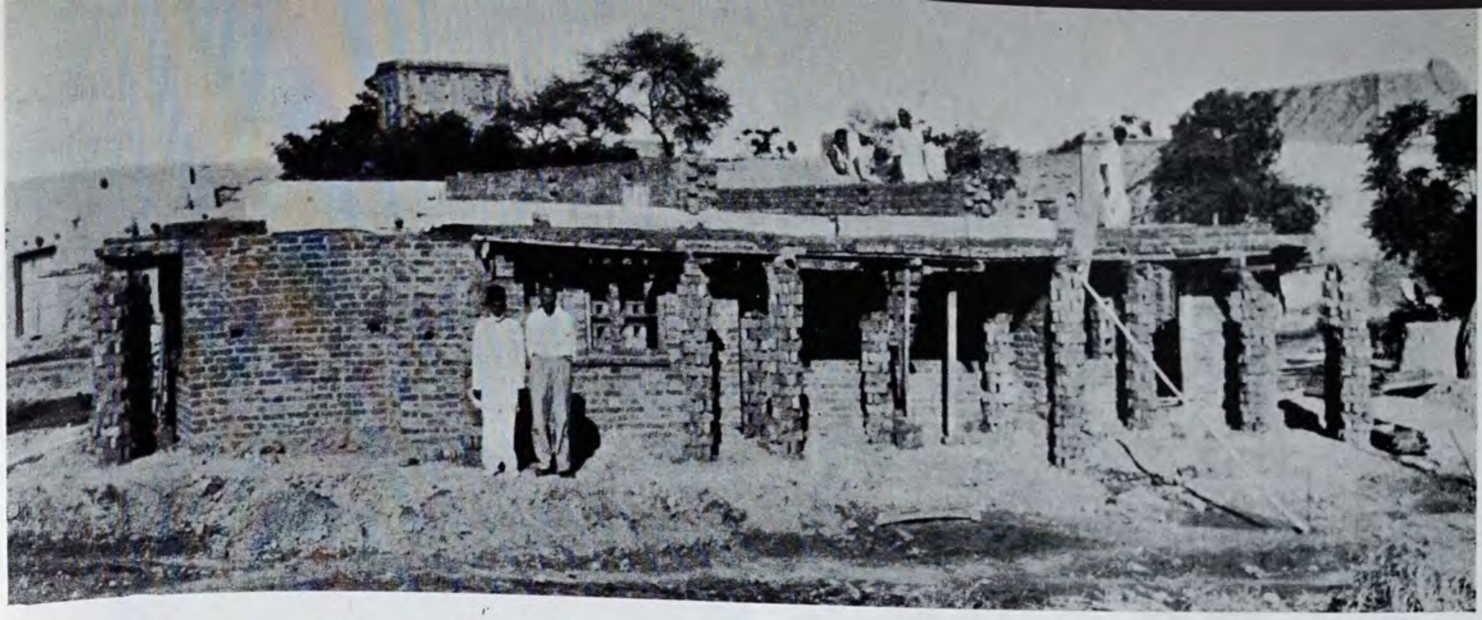
	Thanas/Tehsils	Districts	Divisions
* East Pakistan	413	17	4
West Pakistan	183	68 (including Political Agencies with Jirga Councils).	10

A portion of the Jaranwala-Lyallpur Road, six miles of which were constructed by Union Council No. 187, Chak No. 209



A Community Centre building whose construction was undertaken by Union Council Wagah

council again is composed of the chairmen of all the next lower councils and representatives of nation-building departments. In addition, there is an equal number of non-official members, of whom at least one half are drawn from among chairmen of union councils. The District Council has important functions, such as maintaining elementary schools, dispensaries, and water supply works; it also has vast powers of taxation ; and finally it grants funds to various lower councils according to their needs. It is therefore the most important council above the lowest.

There is yet another tier of councils formed by the fourteen Divisional Councils each of which co-ordinates all the District Councils in one Division of the country (an administrative unit).

The pyramid of democracies was completed when the new Constitution of Pakistan was promulgated in April, 1962, under which two assemblies were set up in the two wings of the country and a national parliament at the centre. The link between these higher assemblies and the local councils is provided by making all the 80,000 members of the lowest councils the electoral college for the higher three assemblies. But the real Basic Democracies are the eight thousand Union Councils or rural republics that come first in order and in importance.

(Apart from the Basic Democracies Ordinance, a separate Municipal Administration Ordinance was issued to reorganize democratic institutions in the cities too. In this direction, a beginning had been made by the British a century ago. Cantonment Boards are another class of urban areas that have been enjoying local self-government under quite separate laws).

HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS

The idea of Basic Democracies may not seem very radical or revolutionary, and no doubt precedents could be cited, as the early town meetings of New England, or the Cantons of Switzerland, or the three tier system of democratic institutions introduced by the Allies in Germany in 1945, but certainly in the context of the newly free nations of Asia it is a tremendous step forward. Within the country itself, the efforts of the British to re-establish the old village councils or "panchayats" during the last ten years of their rule (in West Pakistan, and longer in East Pakistan), deserve full credit but they had their own limitations and could not possibly

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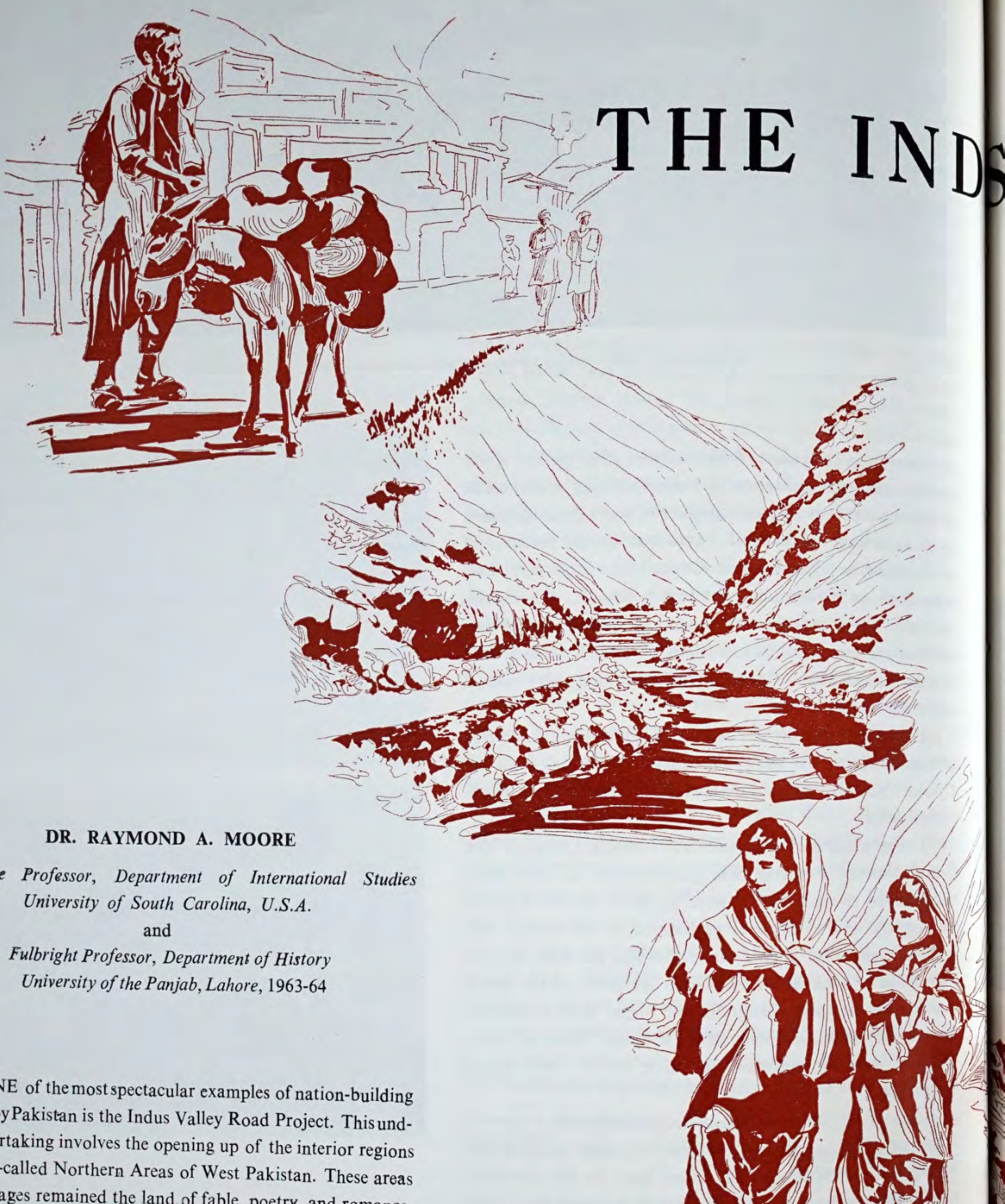
A Community Centre being built on the initiative of Union Council Enayat-Nagar

A new road being constructed in Mirpur Union Council in East Pakistan

THE IND

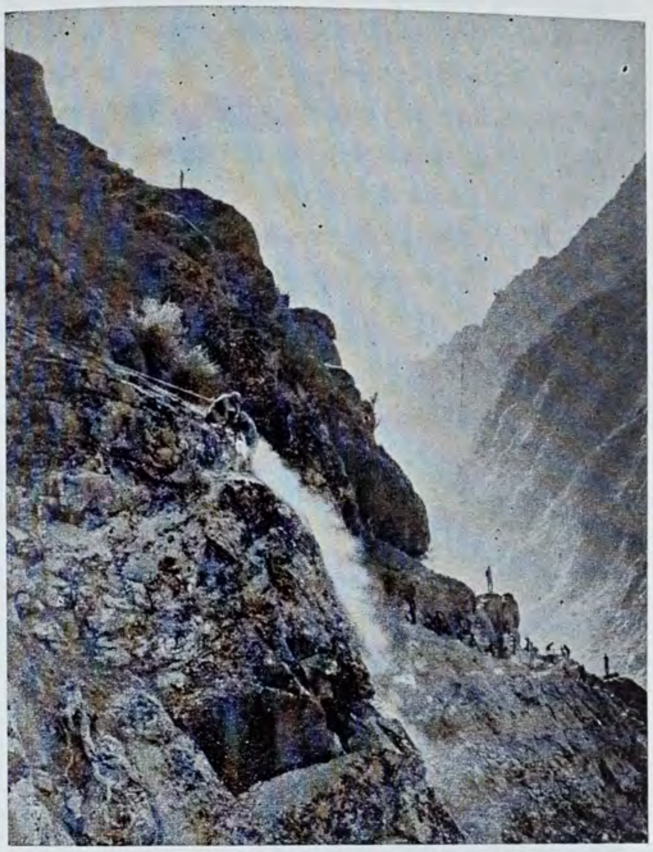


DR. RAYMOND A. MOORE

Associate Professor, Department of International Studies
University of South Carolina, U.S.A.
and
Fulbright Professor, Department of History
University of the Panjab, Lahore, 1963-64

ONE of the most spectacular examples of nation-building by Pakistan is the Indus Valley Road Project. This undertaking involves the opening up of the interior regions of the so-called Northern Areas of West Pakistan. These areas have for ages remained the land of fable, poetry, and romance. Shut off from the settled parts of the country by the mighty ranges of the Hindu Kush, the Pamirs, and the Karakorum Mountains, they have been accessible only to the hardy *shikari* and the mountaineer. Under the pressure of the need for national integration, the Pakistan government has long desired to penetrate these isolated and neglected tracts of hinterland and link their destinies more closely with the rest of the country. Among these areas are the frontiers of

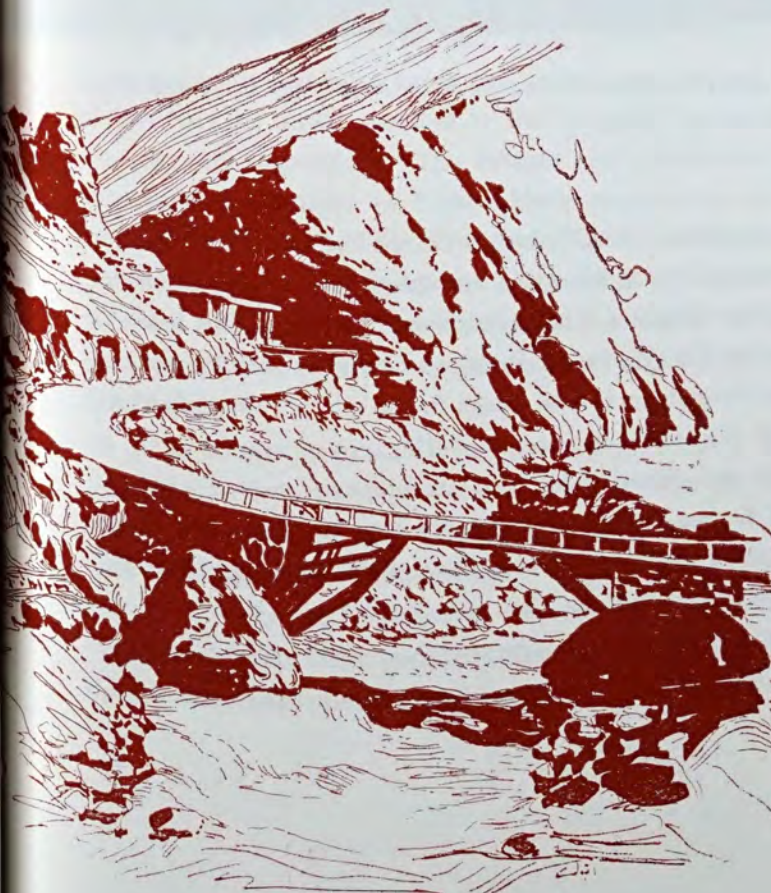
VALLEY ROAD



The difficult and dangerous terrain on which the Indus Valley Road was laid out

Gilgit, Swat, Chitral, Dir, Hunza, Nagar and Amb. Also included is the region of Hazara, part of Division of Peshawar, which borders Swat State on the east. The Northern Areas are remote, mountainous, and primitive, and under the long foreign rule, have remained without transportation, communication, education, health facilities or an awareness of the world outside their neighbouring valleys. Their relations with all the bordering states and with each other are tenuous at best and non-existent at worst. Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza, and Nagar are erroneously shown as parts of Jammu and Kashmir on many maps. Actually their rulers acceded to Pakistan in 1947; as a result, the Central Government regards them as integral parts of the country. At the present time, these states, with the exception of Chitral, are semi-autonomous and do not have representation under the Basic Democracies system or even the status of Tribal Areas, where local laws are recognized as binding instead of the statute law of Pakistan. For instance, in Hunza, that fabulous land which some regard as the closest earthly approximation of James Hilton's "Shangri-La", the people are governed by a hereditary ruler, the Mir.[1] Amb, Chitral, Dir, and Swat, as Tribal Areas, do have political representation under the Basic Democracies system, but are exempt from the laws of both the Central Government and of the West Pakistan Provincial Government.

The Indus Valley Road Project represents an attempt by the Pakistan Government to knit some of these areas more closely into the fabric of the country. Since independence, the government has considered various ways this could be done. Soon after partition, it built a jeep road through the beautiful Kaghan Valley, only to find it inadequate because snow in the Babusar Pass kept it closed for all but three months of the year. In 1949, plans were drawn up and proposals made for the construction of a snow free road linking Gilgit with Peshawar and Rawalpindi, the provisional capital of



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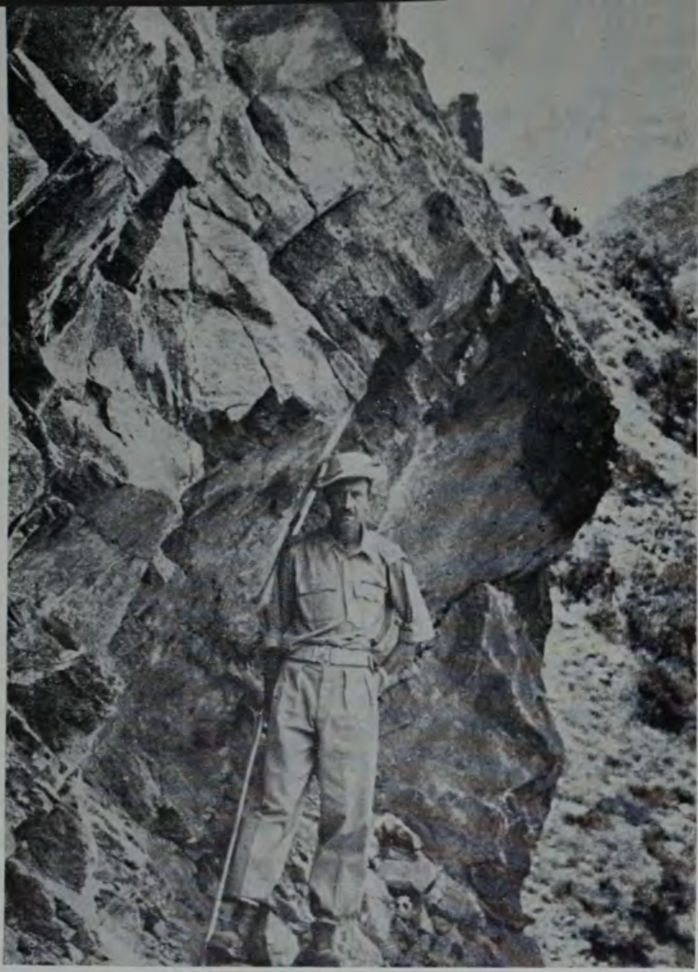
[1] *The Mir of Hunza is not the unwordly leader that one might suspect. He has travelled widely, speaks excellent English, enjoys the modern conveniences of life, including a late-model car, frequently confers with political leaders (President Ayub among them) in the capital Rawalpindi, and elsewhere, and is sympathetic to bettering the lives of his healthy, long-living, but poor and ignorant subjects. See Renee Taylor, Hunza Land, Hunza, The Himalayan Shangri-La (New York: Whitehorn, 1960, 1962), and Hunza Health Secrets for Long Life and Happiness (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1964) for interesting accounts of Hunza folkways.*



A member of the Army Engineers Corps standing by the hillside showing fragmented rock formations along the route of the Indus Valley Road

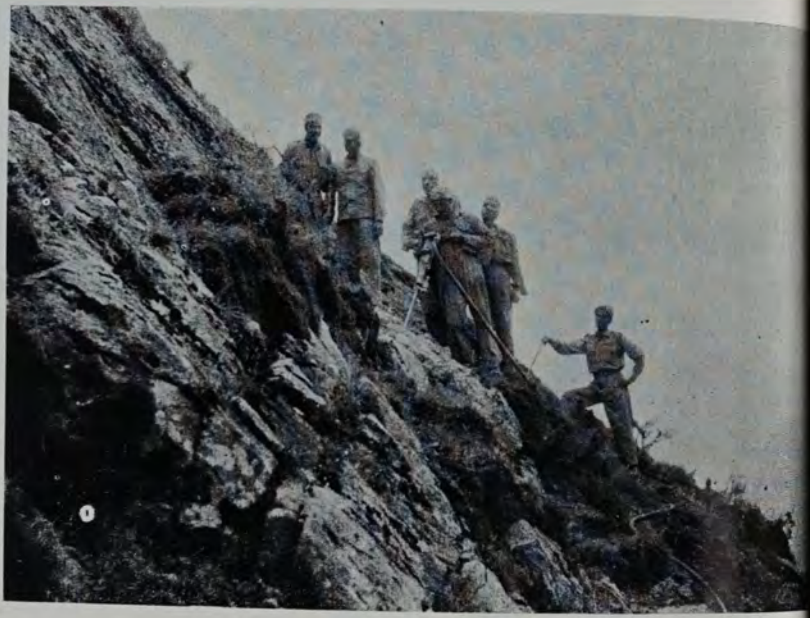
Pakistan.[2] Subsequent proposals were made in 1952 and 1956. However, because of a lack of funds, these plans had to be shelved. In November, 1958, the Central Government again revived the idea and finally decided to undertake the venture in earnest. It ordered the Army and its Corps of Engineers to undertake the main burden of building the proposed road at an estimated cost of rupees 3.5 crores.[3]

GEOGRAPHY OF THE ROAD

The project, called the Indus Valley Road, because its route follows the Indus Valley for the most part, will connect the outlying area of Gilgit with the rest of West Pakistan through Swat State. Construction of the road, which will be completed at the end of 1965, began at Karora in Swat State, about 52 miles from Saidu Sharif, the State capital. From Karora, the road runs nine miles to Besham Qila, where it meets the Indus River.

From there, it generally follows the river until it reaches Gilgit. The distance from Karora to Gilgit is about 250 miles, from Gilgit to Peshawar 420 miles, and from Gilgit to Rawalpindi 470 miles.

The distance between Gilgit and Rawalpindi has been reduced by another fifty miles now that a link road connecting Besham Qila with Abbottabad through Buttal has been completed. From Buttal, a good all-weather road runs into Rawalpindi. Most of this link was already in existence and its completion requires only the construction of about twenty miles of road (which will pass the foot of Pir Sar, or Aornos, as it was known in ancient times, where Alexander the Great fought a famous battle in 326 B.C). This link will avoid the Shangla Pass in Swat, which stands at 7,300 feet and is snowbound for several weeks in the winter. When finished, it will be capable of accommodating heavy vehicles such as trucks and buses. The road to Peshawar which proceeds from Karora through the Shangla Pass to Saidu Sharif and then along the Valley of Swat through the Malakand Pass will remain unaffected by the new link.



A drilling party at work on a steep incline on the Indus Valley Road Project

Local Kohistani labourers at work on the Indus Road Project

Construction plans called for the project are to be divided into two sections. One focused on the Karora-Chilas sector, which covers a distance of 158 miles. This road is being constructed over virgin ground where not even a footpath exists. Another sector runs from Chilas to Gilgit, a distance of 87 miles. Here, a jeep road already runs between the two points and the work involves widening the old road and making new alignments in about fifty per cent of its length. This portion of the road is being constructed by the Northern Areas Public Works Department and is stated to be 80 percent complete. The entire road when ready will be capable of bearing normal heavy trucks and buses. As a result of the Army Engineers' construction, it is already being used by heavy engineering equipment vehicles, and civilian buses are engaged in regular runs between Saidu Sharif and the village of Pattan, 25 miles from Karora, along the Indus River.

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[2] *A new permanent capital, Islamabad, is being built seven miles from Rawalpindi.*

[3] *A crore equals ten million and approximately* 4.80 *rupees equal* $ 1. *In dollars, the estimate was* $ 7,291,666.

INITIAL OBSTACLES

Before the Army Engineers tackled their part of the assignment pertaining to the Karora-Chilas sector, they carried out extensive reconnaissance missions to gather the information needed to assess the dimensions of their task. Some of the reports about the terrain were discouraging. Most of the proposed route involved is hugging the Indus River gorge which has a prodigious number of sheer vertical or near-vertical walls of hard rock. The cutting of a road halfway up the ten thousand foot mountains which rise from the valley, posed extremely difficult technical problems and made the work extremely hazardous. Since there were no jeep roads or even footpaths, every foot of the road would have to be built by blasting solid rock; moreover several reconnaissance parties met with opposition from the local inhabitants, the Kohistanis, and one party was fired upon (although no one was injured).

In December, 1958, when the orders to commence work were received by the Engineers, they dispatched their men to Karora in Swat State. The first batch arrived in January, 1959, taking six weeks to reach this jumping-off point of the project because heavy snowfall in the Shangla Pass made it intermittently impassable. The bridges and culverts on the road between the town of Khwazakhela, twenty miles north of Saidu Sharif on the Swat River, and Karora, also were not strong enough to withstand the heavy loads of equipment necessary to undertake construction. Over twenty bridges and culverts had to be built or strengthened in order to move the equipment.

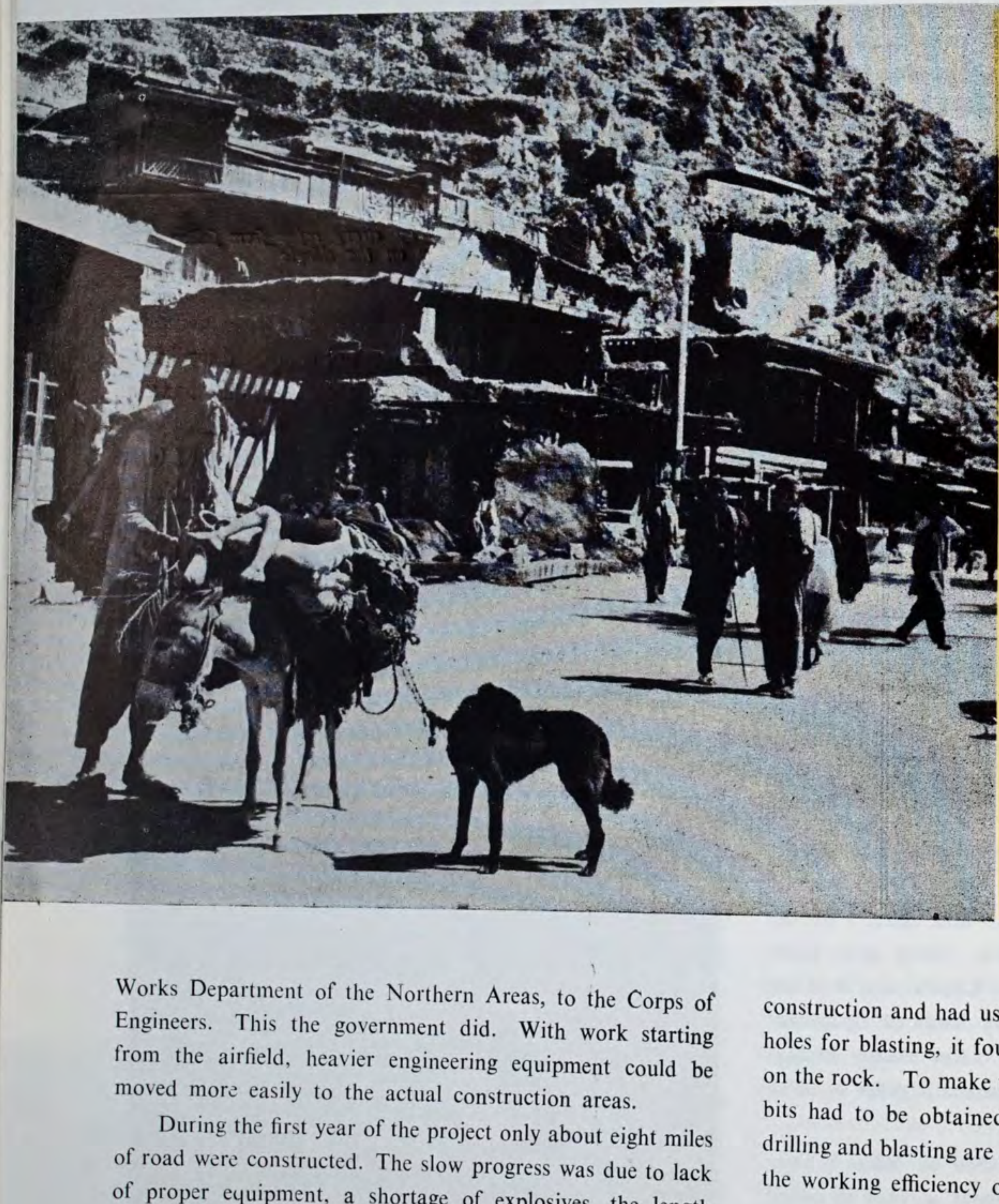
To expedite progress, it was decided to make a two-pronged attack by opening a second front at Thor in Gilgit and work down the Valley towards Sazin and finally join the party working north from Karora. Orders were issued in July, 1959, to fly the Engineers to the town of Gilgit. From there, they were to move by jeep to Thor and commence work. However, because of inclement weather, the monsoons, and a shortage of aircraft, the fly-in was not completed until mid-September and it was not until December, 1959, that the work was actually begun from Thor.

Once work began, it was found that maintaining the labour force in the area was creating severe administrative problems. All supplies needed by the Engineers had to be airlifted from Rawalpindi to Gilgit, an air route which is notoriously hazardous because of its treacherous air currents, and then hauled by jeep over 120 miles of poor and dangerous jeep tracks. To ease this logistic problem, the emergency landing strip at Chilas was upgraded to full operational requirements. This

Workers on a steep hillside, secured by strong ropes from falling down the valley as they slip on the shingle

A cluster of mud and stone huts in Swat at the foot of barren hills

was facilitated when in February, 1961, the Pakistan Air Force air-dropped six hundred tons of cement and machinery needed to improve the air strip. By the end of April, 1961, a cement stabilized runway was prepared and ready to receive aircraft.[4] The flying time for aircraft from Rawalpindi was cut down by twenty minutes and the long road haul from Gilgit was eliminated. To ease further the logistic problem, the Army asked the government to transfer the construction of the Chilas-Thor Sector, originally assigned to the civilian Public Works Department of the Northern Areas, to the Corps of Engineers. This the government did. With work starting from the airfield, heavier engineering equipment could be moved more easily to the actual construction areas.



A village scene in northern Swat

During the first year of the project only about eight miles of road were constructed. The slow progress was due to lack of proper equipment, a shortage of explosives, the length of time required for reconnaissance, setting up camps for troops and labourers, and getting the work organized.

PROBLEMS OF CONSTRUCTION

The entire length of the Indus Gorge is made up of the hardest rock granite and basalt. Literally every foot of the alignment had to be blasted out with explosives. Approximately 35 tons are used a month. Air compressors that supply the motive power for rock-drills had to be dismantled and carried over trackless heights to the work location where they were reassembled. Although the Corps of Engineers had considerable experience (since Independence) in hill road construction and had used a variety of drills for making boreholes for blasting, it found normal drilling bits had no effect on the rock. To make the boreholes, special tungsten carbide bits had to be obtained to do the job. New techniques of drilling and blasting are constantly being developed to improve the working efficiency of the force employed on the project.

As has been noted, the terrain itself creates substantial problems. The precipitious rock and sheer cliffs make it difficult and dangerous for the troops and labourers to get a proper footing; even the agile mountain goats are wary of the sharp declines. The slightest loss of footing can and has sent a man plunging hundreds, even thousands, of feet into the swift, deep and turbulent Indus River. One serious accident caused twelve casualties, six fatal, when a work party was clearing a blast area and a whole mountain side fell on them. Fatalities numbered over 25 by 1965.

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[4] *The Chilas airfield is now used regularly by twinengined transport aircraft. The cost of upgrading was rupees* 8,00,000, *approximately* $2,00,000.

The road at present is twelve to fourteen foot wide single track, with the existing rock dressed as base and widenings every one hundred yards for passing. Since the Indus River follows a tortuous path through the mountains, many of them snow-capped even in summer and some rising to over 17,000 feet, the road winds and bends with the river. Visibility around curves and in bad weather is poor, and sharp angle turns in the road barely give buses and trucks room to manoeuvre around them, let alone pass another vehicle. The need for occasional back tracking to find a passing area is already present and will undoubtedly increase as two-way traffic does. (When I visited the site in June, 1964, the road was rugged, narrow, dangerous, mountainous, and meandering, with no guard-rails and few traffic controls except warning signs about impending turns and the need to bear far left on their approach). Since shoulders were almost non-existent, a slip from the road meant a sheer drop of 5,000 feet into the river below. In order to insure that the road remains open all year round, it is built no higher than 5,000 feet, which means that it cuts most of the mountains halfway up. Occasionally it dips to the river bed to take advantage of the terrain or to connect with a village, only to rise again when the gorge sheets off into a vertical drop.

In spite of the snow-covered mountains in the background, and clear, cold mountain streams cascading their white spray into the mighty Indus, muddy and brown with bruised earth from the sharp eroding edge of its current, the warm weather in the Valley is not conducive to year-round work. In fact, the tempo of work slows and almost halts between May and September because of the heat. Temperatures upto 125 in the shade are not unusual, which is surprising, considering that Chilas has an elevation of over 4,000 feet and much of the work is done at 5,000 feet. The fall, spring, and winter months are more climatically conducive to work in the area, although snows and cold weather do blanket the upper mountains and from November to the first week of February 100-mile winds blow through the valley. Even in the winter, local labour becomes scarce, especially in the Chilas-Sazin sector.

LABOUR ON THE ROAD

To maintain an adequate supply of abour on a project of this size has been a troublesome problem from the beginning. While the Corps of Engineers furnished the trained personnel to do the engineering, maintain the equipment, perform the technical work and supervise, there has remained a continuing need for manual labour to perform the many arduous tasks demanded in such a pioneering undertaking. Initially the local people, the Kohistanis, were sought out to carry the main burden of the work. These people, living in the isolated valleys of Eastern and Northern Swat, many untouched by contact with civilization since Alexander's invasion, at first proved difficult to enlist since they mistakenly looked upon the liveried labour as an intruder ready to take their lands, and enslave the men. The Army, by judicious conduct, compensation for land, and the offering of goods for services, was able to break down their conservatism and inveigle them into lending their services. As the journalist Tom Dawson discovered during his trip to the area, the Kohistanis at first "had little use for money, but when unrefined sugar, tea, cloth, salt, and meat began to appear in small tumbledown shops near their homes, they worked in order to buy".[5] Being

A road along the Indus River, where there is room by the bank for such construction

Blasting rocks on the Indus Road Project

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[5] *Tom Dawson "A Frontier of Horses", The Scotsman, May 17, 1963.*

A road in Swat led over the Swat River by a wooden bridge

co-religionists with the Muslim Kohistanis also helped the Engineers break down barriers of communication. These were formidable, inasmuch as the Kohistanis, not in the strict sense Pathans, did not speak either Pushtu, Urdu, Punjabi, or English, but a local dialect of the Dardic tribe, of which they are a member.[6] Overcoming the resistance of the local population and enticing them to work did not solve the labour problem by any means.

MIGRATORY HILL-FOLK

As the heat of the summer months increased, the Kohistanis, following their usual custom, would desert the torrid valleys for the cool air of the upper mountains. In fact, it was not unusual for them to have three different huts at three different levels on the mountains: one in the valley for the winter, one halfway up for spring and fall, and another at the top for summer. This seasonal migration made it very difficult to maintain a work force at a constant level. Timber contractors, cutting in the upper forests of the mountains during the summer months, also made the problems more acute by offering employment to the Kohistanis at higher wages than paid by the Engineers.

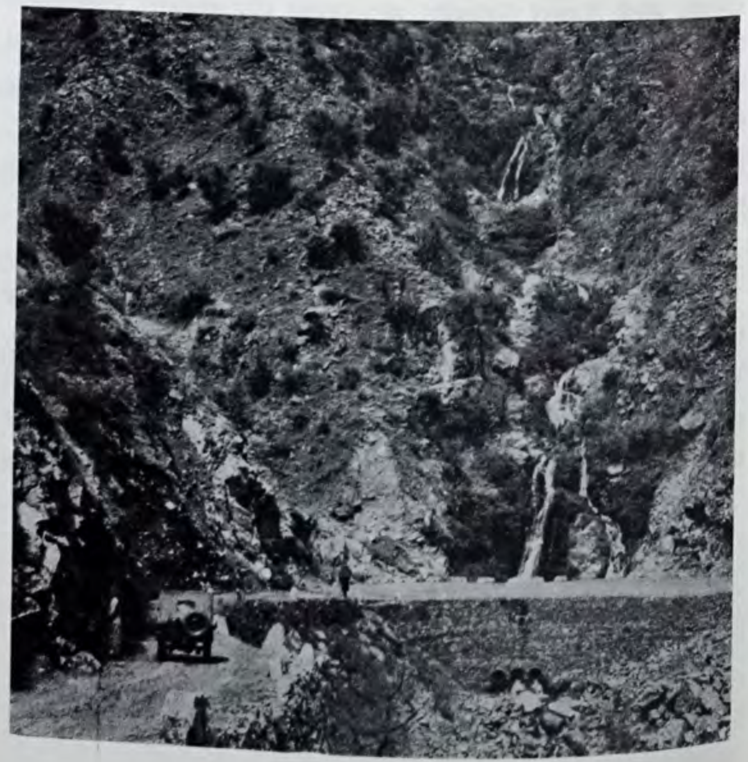
In the Chilas-Sazin area, the population is scarce, and labourers from Hunza and Baltistan had to be imported. As an inducement to get them to work so far from their homes, free transportation to the work-site was provided. To keep this labour over the summer months, all sorts of incentives had to be offered, such as extra allowance and rations. Even these inducements, however, were not always sufficient to keep an adequate labour force intact. Some labourers were even impored from the plains between Peshawar and Rawalpindi, but they were not particularly enamoured of the type of hard manual work required. Ex-servicemen from the plains were also given employment if they were in the need of work. This source also proved numerically inadequate.

DESPERATE SOLUTION

As a last resort, the authorities were finally persuaded to permit use of prison labour. Over 600 were being employed on the project by 1964 and there were plans to try to increase the number in 1965. For the prisoners, it was frequently an opportunity to break prison routine by getting out in the open country, do something constructive for the country, exercise their bodies and earn money. Some, it is true, regarded it as an opportunity to escape, in spite of the fact that there was precious little to escape to in the wilderness of Kohistan. During my visit to the Karora Sector on June 22 and 23, 1964, one such escape attempt was made. The prisoner was quickly recaptured. Most, however, seemed to accept their lot with stoic grace. Their relationship with the Army and the locals appeared good humoured and casual, characterized by the feeling that "we are all stuck out here in nowhere together," which was undoubtedly true.

The total work force on the road numbers 3,000 civilians and 600 prisoners, plus the personnel of the Corps of Engineers, numbering about 750. Progress on the project has been good since most of the problems connected with its launching have been overcome. By the middle of 1965, the Chilas and Karora crews were but a few miles apart. Of course, these few miles were among the most difficult of the whole route. Wireless communications keep the two groups in constant contact. Over 40 miles of telephone wires permit instant communication between the northern-most part of the Karora Sector and the southern-most part, working on the link road. A

A difficult curve on the Indus Valley Road



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[6] *For additional information on Kohistan and its people, see Frederick Barth's Political Leadership Among the Pathans of Swat, Professor Mark A. Stein, On the Track of Alexander to Indus Kohistan (1926) and his On Ancient Central-Asian Tracts, ed. Jeannete Mirksy (New York : Random House, Parthenon Books, 1964).*

[7] *Another local tribe, the nomadic Gujars, comprising about one fourth of the local population, move the seasonal migration one step further by carrying the roofs of their houses with them as they move up and down the mountain side with their goats and cows.*

major undertaking still remaining is a bridge to cross the Indus to connect the two sections of the road being built on opposite sides of the river. The link from Besham to Abbottabad is all but completed at the present time.

THE ROAD AND THE PEOPLE

When the Army first moved into Kohistan, they found a people literally cut off from the outside world ; people who wore goatskins on their feet, ate mostly maize, knew only a simple barter economy, washed only when their clothes wore out, had never heard of radio, telephones, coffee, tea, or money, and without schools or teachers, hospitals, or doctors. On the arrival of the first jeeps, the local people brought grapes, water, milk, bread, and eggs to feed the strangers in the hope that they would then move on and leave them in peace. As Dawson points out, the bulldozers were regarded by the locals as great "wrestlers", and the Engineers as intruders intent on stealing their land.

As the building of the road progressed, many changes, some subtle and others radical, occurred in the lives of the Kohistanis. The Army's demand for labour not only created jobs for may villagers, young and old, but also meant the introduction of new goods into the local economy and the gradual admixture of a money with a barter economy. As we have seen, at first, local labour wanted only goods for services. Now they are willing to accept currency because they have found that it will buy the goods for which they have developed an appetite. The going rate for unskilled labour is two rupees a day, with skilled labour earning from between three and ten rupees a day. This represents a substantial increase of income for practically every Kohistani employed, although strenuous efforts are made by the Army to pay wages closely tied to local rates and to prevent inflation in their meagre economy. For those fortunate enough to learn a skill, such as drilling, carpentry, blacksmithing, or operating a tool or machine, it means relative affluence.

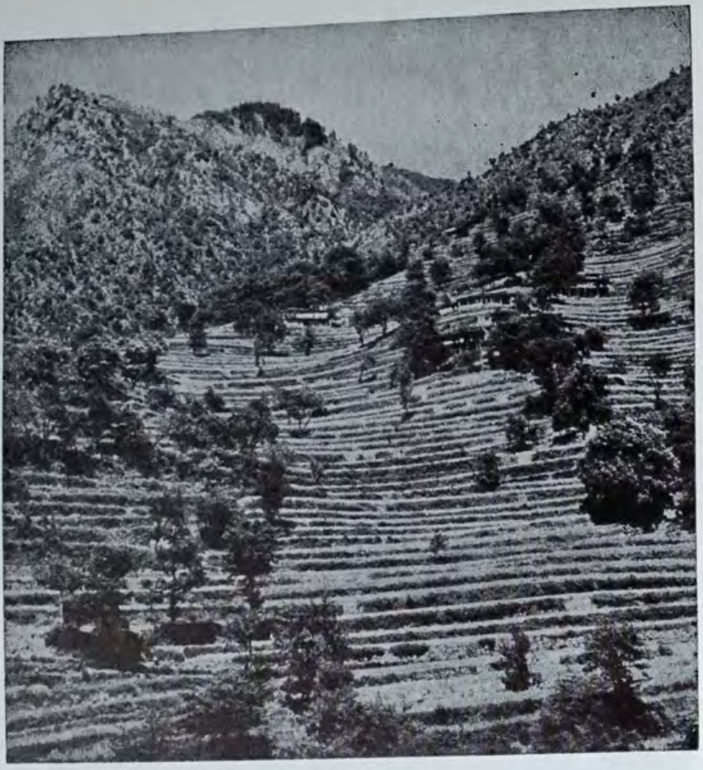
DISCOVERING NEW NEEDS

Initially, the great attraction was tea, sugar, and milk. This residue of British rule took hold among the people of Kohistan as it did among the people of the whole sub-continent. Local shops began serving tea after the fashion of the Army. Sugar and milk were then demanded. Now cups and saucers are being brought into the valley along with teapots and silverware. Even the summer labour shortage has been somewhat alleviated due to the fact that the locals want to stay on and work in order to earn money for tea, sugar, milk, and other amenities now available in the incredible huts that pass for shops in this area of the world. Coffee is still an unheard-of commodity to most, but cigarettes, lipstick, coloured cloth, jewelled trinkets, ammunition belts, salt, and soap are displayed prominently on the shelves.

Due to the example of the Army, the more imitative of the Kohistanis are beginning to wash their clothes and bodies and even shave. I saw one old man carry a large bundle of clothes over to a mountain stream, diligently wash them and himself, and then hang his tattered rags to dry. He had only begun doing this after watching the Engineers wash on the other side of the stream for some months. Later, he bartered for a razor to try out the newfangled idea of shaving.

New shops are also opening along the road, featuring such unheard-of items as radios and clocks. The population of several villages adjacent to the road has doubled. More and more Kohistanis are leaving the back country and settling in areas through which the road passes. While it is premature to speak of any large sedentation of the population along the road, this will undoubtedly occur when the entire route is opened. Already a few of the more adventurous young men are finding their way into Mingora, the chief town of Swat. Bus service had already been established in the open sections beyond Karora, carrying passengers up and down the valley, bringing in fresh fruit and vegetables and also mail. Mail service used to be non-existent in many parts, and it took up to four days for a letter from Saidu Sharif just to reach a village. Now it takes one day. The buses, most of them vintage models representing miracles of motion, seem relatively new, compared to the trucks transporting their goods over the bumpy, winding, treacherous road. A breakdown can often mean being stranded until replacement parts can be brought in from Saidu

A wooden bridge over a mountain stream in Swat



Terraced fields rise sky high where water is available for cultivation

Sharif or Gilgit. These trucks carry lumber, corn, salt, skins, and other commodities produced in the area or in demand at the shops.

TIDE OF PROSPERITY

In spite of the precarious condition of the vehicles, their mere appearance in these backward regions has meant that the cost of corn on the local market has declined 50 per cent, from 50 rupees per maund (82 pounds) before the road to 25 per maund afterward. Other grain prices have dropped 30 per cent. and salt prices have been substantially reduced. Moreover, the Central Government has been able to cut back the huge sums of money spent in subsidizing transportation costs to import foodgrain to feed this food-deficient population. Fruit is being exported for the first time instead of being wasted. Virgin forests and mineral resources are being discovered and yet others are beginning to be exploited now that machinery and heavy equipment can be brought in. Even a few hardy tourists are beginning to make the trek beyond the Shangla Pass, the usual stopping point, to explore the valley grandeur of this Asian Switzerland. When the road is opened, it will be a prime, if risky attraction. It is no exaggeration to say that the entire region is experiencing a new prosperity with the coming of the road. Not only are the costs of daily necessities being cut drastically, but the people are slowly and surely discovering a new and better way of life that promises them higher standards of living, and wider horizons.

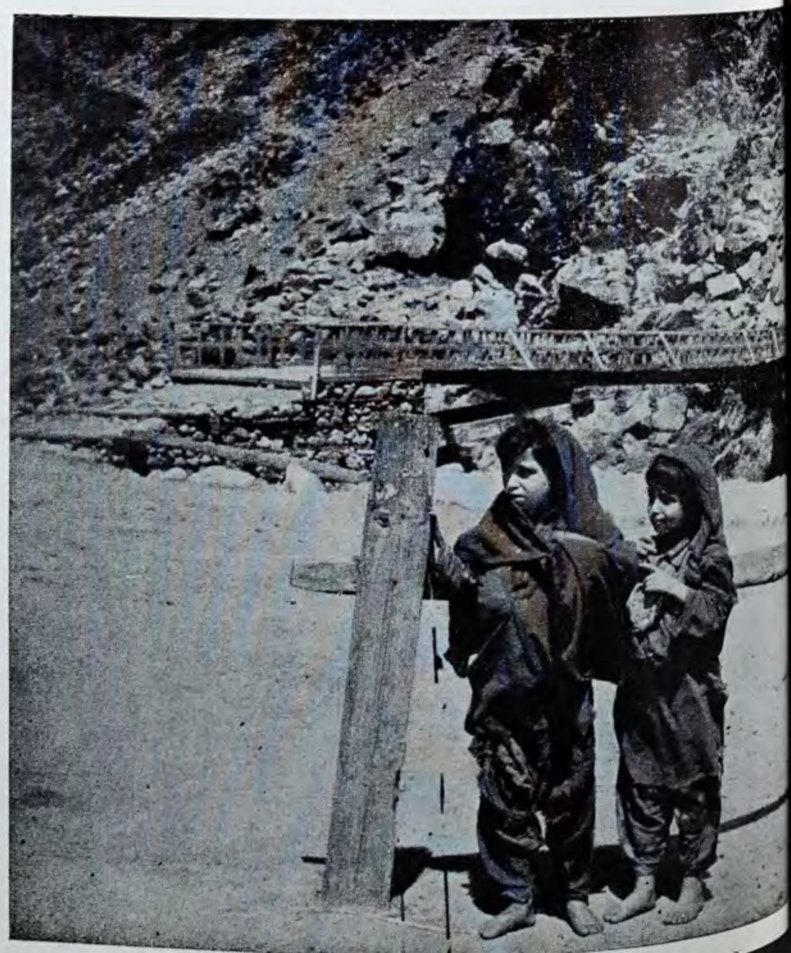
There are as yet no doctors, hospitals, teachers, or schools in upper Kohistan. The Army has naturally brought in its own doctors to care for the Engineers. They also look after the civilians employed on the road and, when their duties permit, other civilians. Here again, there was early reluctance on the part of the locals to permit treatment by Army medical men ; yet time and good results have broken down resistance to the extent that the Army doctors find themselves occasionally besieged by more appeals for help from the civilians than they can handle. Even the women, who at first would not allow themselves to be seen, are willing to receive minor treatment.

Periodically, teams of medical students, accompanied by a faculty member, come from the University of Peshawar and other medical schools to spend two or three weeks at a time, giving inoculations and drugs to the populace. As might be expected, they encountered hostility until one Kohistani could be persuaded to take a shot or a drug. Then others would willingly follow. Most, however, did not have much idea of what the treatment was about, but since the medical students appeared under the aegis of the Army, the people were often ready to cooperate cautiously, in as much as the Army had treated them in a kindly fashion in the past.

WELFARE WORK BY ENGINEERS

At Jejal in 1961, the Army Engineers started a school for the Kohistani children. Classes were held in rudimentary stone huts and the undertaking proved so successful that the government eventually took over the operation. In 1962, the Army built the first mosque at Duber. This too was for the local population and did much to gain good-will for the Army. The Army's good judgement and sincere interest in implementing the social goals of the Central Government has also been evident, in the decision to use the road as a means to connect the villages whenever possible. Even

Solemn little denizens of the grim mountain world



though it involves additional work, increased costs, and longer distances, the Engineers have gone out of their way to build the road close to the neighbouring villages and even through them, if feasible. After the original road is laid, the Army plans to go back and build shorter routes which will bypass some villages. At the same time, the auxiliary roads will be kept open and repaired.

Perhaps an indication of the Army's success in handling the social as well as the construction problem is the practice of the Kohistani youngsters, picked up from the NCO's in-charge of the work groups, of coming to brisk attention at the sight of a jeep and then throwing a smart salute to the officer occupants.

CONCLUSION

The Indus Valley Road Project is the largest civilian construction project undertaken by the Army Corps of Engineers in one of the most difficult terrains. It is nation-building in a genuine sense. Upon its completion, a major step will have been taken by Pakistan to knit the outlying regions of Gilgit, Hunza, and Swat into the pattern of national life. Although the Public Works Department has been in charge of upgrading the jeep road from Gilgit to Chilas, it is in no way deprecating their efforts to say that the Corps of Engineers has borne the brunt of the most difficult work. This it has done with spectacular success, operating under tremendous natural handicaps.

Already, the by-products of the road building are visible and the road is not yet completed ; it can be confidently anticipated that with its completion, traffic from Peshawar and Rawalpindi to Gilgit will increase in geometric proportions. Since only air routes and snow-prone jeep trails now exist, the Indus Valley Road will become the natural avenue for the flow of traffic between the northern plains and the upper mountainous provinces. The arteries of trade will appear to pulse slowly by Western standards. For Kohistan and Gilgit, however, they will seem as fast as the racing current of the Indus River, for as surely as the Oregon Trail opened the Pacific Northwest of the United States, the Indus Valley Road will open the hinterland of northern Pakistan. A hundred years may pass before the seeds of progress sown by the Corps of Engineers come to fruition, yet the promise of the future is clearly visible today. While, because of differing climates and geographical obstacles, one cannot predict the same kind of future for the inhabitants of the Northern Areas that the people of the United States Northwest have achieved in more than a century, their prospects of a better life are bright and real. Better transportation, better communications, better health, better food, better education, and better amenities are fast coming within their reach. So, too, it must be conceded, will come better means of violence, stronger government controls, and more vices. On balance, however, there is little doubt that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages, and for the peoples of the Northern Areas, while civilization is still remote, the inroads have inevitably begun.

Where the valley opens out and land can be irrigated, smiling fields of corn spread their green carpet

"Politics", said Max Weber, "is the slow boring of hard boards". In Pakistan, the political building of the nation is often the slow boring of hard rocks.

Poems

A WAKEFUL NIGHT

MANOMOHAN BARMAN

This is a night for keeping awake
not for enjoying sleep or songs ;
Right wakeful shall I keep tonight
Sitting single silently here.
No sleep or song or dream shall I indulge in ;
All wakeful shall I keep tonight.
Moonlight rains from the dome of heaven,
And the stars are twinkling there.
Bathed in this flood of light
with eyes fixed on the stars,
Right wakeful shall I keep tonight
Sitting single silently here.
If my eyes from the spell of sleep
tend to close at all,
They will close not before the time
of moon-set in the morn.
No sleep or song or dream shall I indulge in ;
Singly wakeful shall I keep tonight.

There sings a bird in a bower afar,
And its notes come floating on the air.
Wrapt in the music of this flow of notes,
Right wakeful shall I keep all night
Gazing at the homes
of the moon and stars above.
No sleep or song or dream shall I indulge in ;
Wakeful shall I keep tonight.

If my ever-wakefulness this night
Leads me to taste the grandeur
of the shapeless vast,
And steeps my senses deep therein,
Then shall I have found what I seek.
No sleep or song or dream shall I indulge in ;
Bathed in the flood of light
with eyes fixed on the stars,
Right wakeful shall I keep tonight
Sitting single silently here.
If my eyes for the spell of sleep
tend to close at all,
They will close not before the time
of moon-set in the morn.

All wakeful shall I keep tonight.

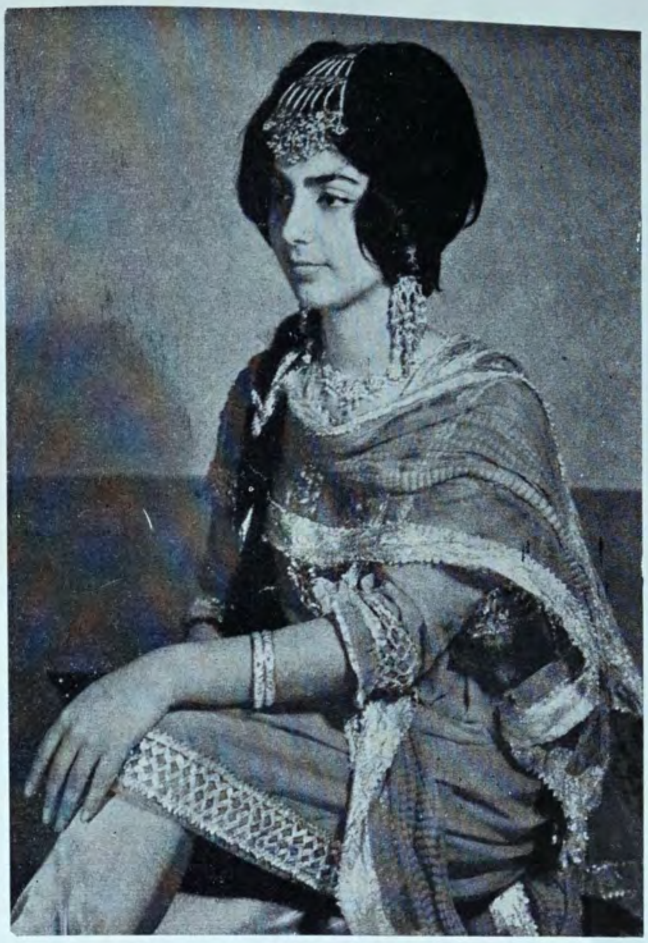
KNOW ME NOT

NOOROON DOSSAL

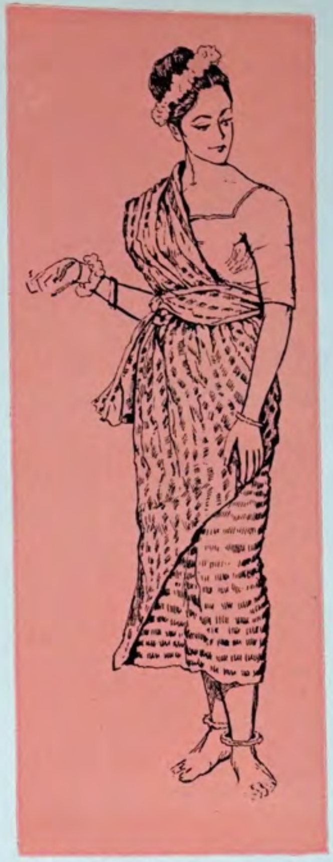
Know me not by words spoken :
Words stretch on bare imagination,
Blur and mar the comprehensibility,
And like an unskilled painter, daub
The landscape with superfluous colour.

Know me not by words written :
Words take grotesque shapes when
Transferred in black and white,
And like a distorted mirror, caricature
Intrepid thoughts unashamedly.

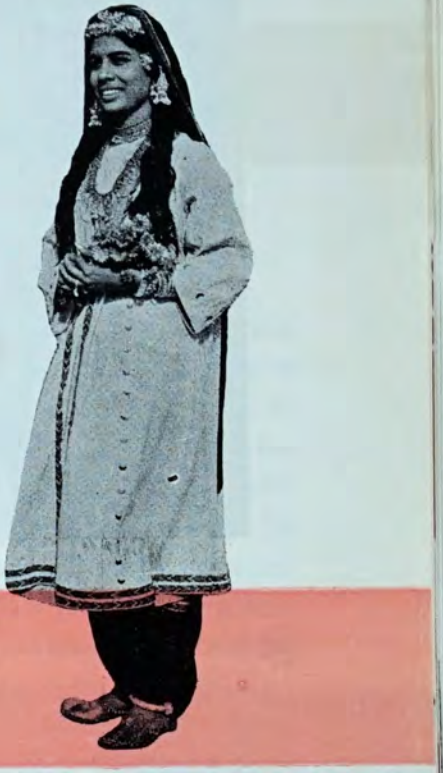
Oh know me by words unspoken :
Words that lie in the canyon of my
Mind unformed and inarticulated;
Words that tremble on my lips
Canorous, like a divine song.



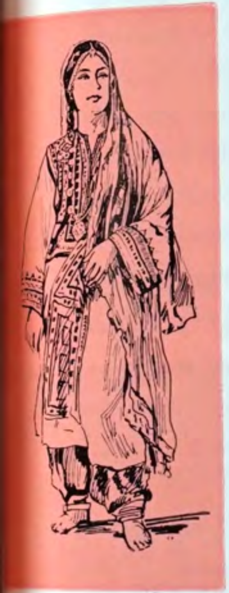
Low, skirt-like garment (*gharara*) and richly decorated scarf (*dupatta*) contrasts with the modern coiffure



The Tangail style of sari, draped tightly round the waist, worn by tribal women in East Pakistan



A simple but very graceful dress from Swat, with traditional jewellery and flower adornment



A Baluchi dress with the typical embroidered collar and long panel in front

WOMEN COSTUMES

NAUSHABA BURNEY

Photographs, by Courtesy of the Department of Tourism

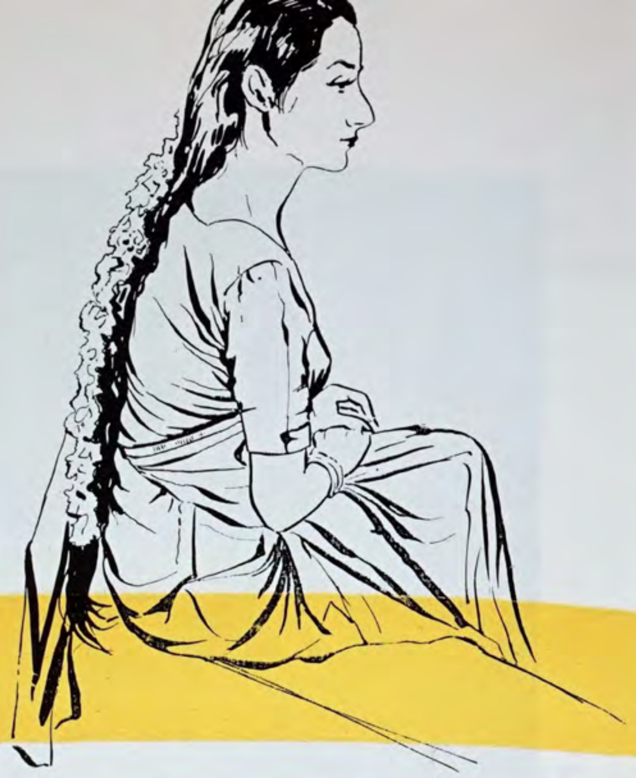
THE graceful, clinging *sari*, and the attractive *shalwar qameez* that Pakistani women flaunt in a myriad colours, have a long history. The passage of centuries has brought about many changes in these dresses, but time's restless fingers have left untouched the legacy of line and pattern.

When man first learnt to weave the fluffy cotton growing wild by the great Indus river, lengths of the woven material were wrapped around the body. The modern *sari*, the Punjabi *lacha*, even the heavily gathered *ghagra*, it has been conjectured, owe their origin to that ancient, forgotten woman of the pre-historic city of Moenjodaro, who first wound a piece of cotton around her. Whether it was for protection against the fiery sun or the piercing Himalayan blast, or whether from an inborn sense of modesty, the nameless woman's act of 5,000 years ago started a fashion that today turns heads wherever it appears.

The *sari*, though much altered and elaborated, to this day possesses the simplicity of line of woman's original garment. When in the fourth century B.C. Alexander's invading columns, and later the Bactrian hordes, overran the land, the draping of the *sari* began to reflect the grace of the *toga*. With the advent of Islamic influence in the sub-continent, the idea of modesty was apparently reinforced, and the *sari* was supplemented with a stitched *choli* or blouse. It is not known when the further refinement of the petticoat, over which the modern *sari* is wrapped, was first introduced. Possibly it developed from the skirts of the women of European adventurers who were attracted to the sub-continent by the fabled wealth of the Orient.

But though the origin of the *sari*, the *lacha*, and the

A Punjabi village girl—sweet and simple



Modern sari and blouse, with flower-decked hair plait

ghagra is probably indigenous, the long shirt and voluminous pantalets that are the basic components of most Pakistani clothes, were brought to the country in the misty past by the Aryans from Central Asia.

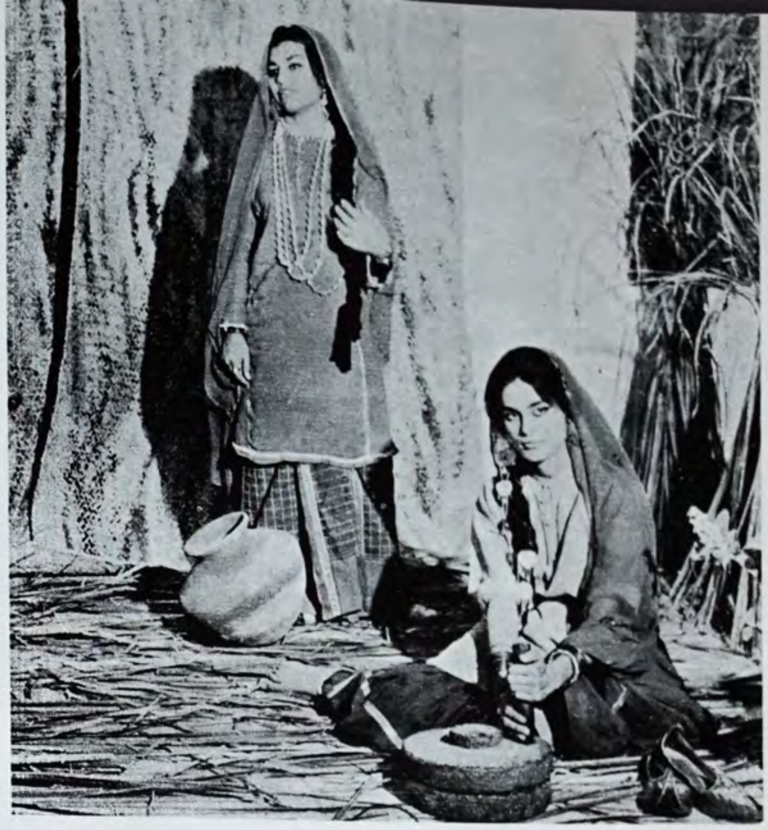
Attracted by the fertile plains of the Indus and the Ganges, the sturdy Aryan tribes of Central Asia swept down through the Himalayan passes and spread across the regions now comprising Northern Pakistan. Beginning about 1500 B.C. or even earlier the Aryan advance continued over many centuries until the old Dravidian races were completely subdued and Aryan territory stretched from sea to sea. These Aryans, as is well-known, were a branch of the race that overran Persia and Greece and spread across Europe.

Along with their institutions and language, Aryan settlers brought with them their characteristic baggy pantaloons and long gathered frocks, worn both by men and women.

In the clothes of modern Western women can be seen traces of the fitted bodice and the gathered skirt of man's earliest stitched garments.

This frock of the Aryans is found almost unchanged to this day in the northern Frontier regions of Pakistan. Called the *choga*, it is worn with baggy pantalets that swirl along the legs in countless folds. The *sarpichak* or kerchief tied over the head by the Central Asian tribes, was, it seems likely, augmented about the fifth century B. C. by the *chadar* (stole or shawl) of the Buddhists.

An East Pakistani tribal beauty wearing Tangail style sari



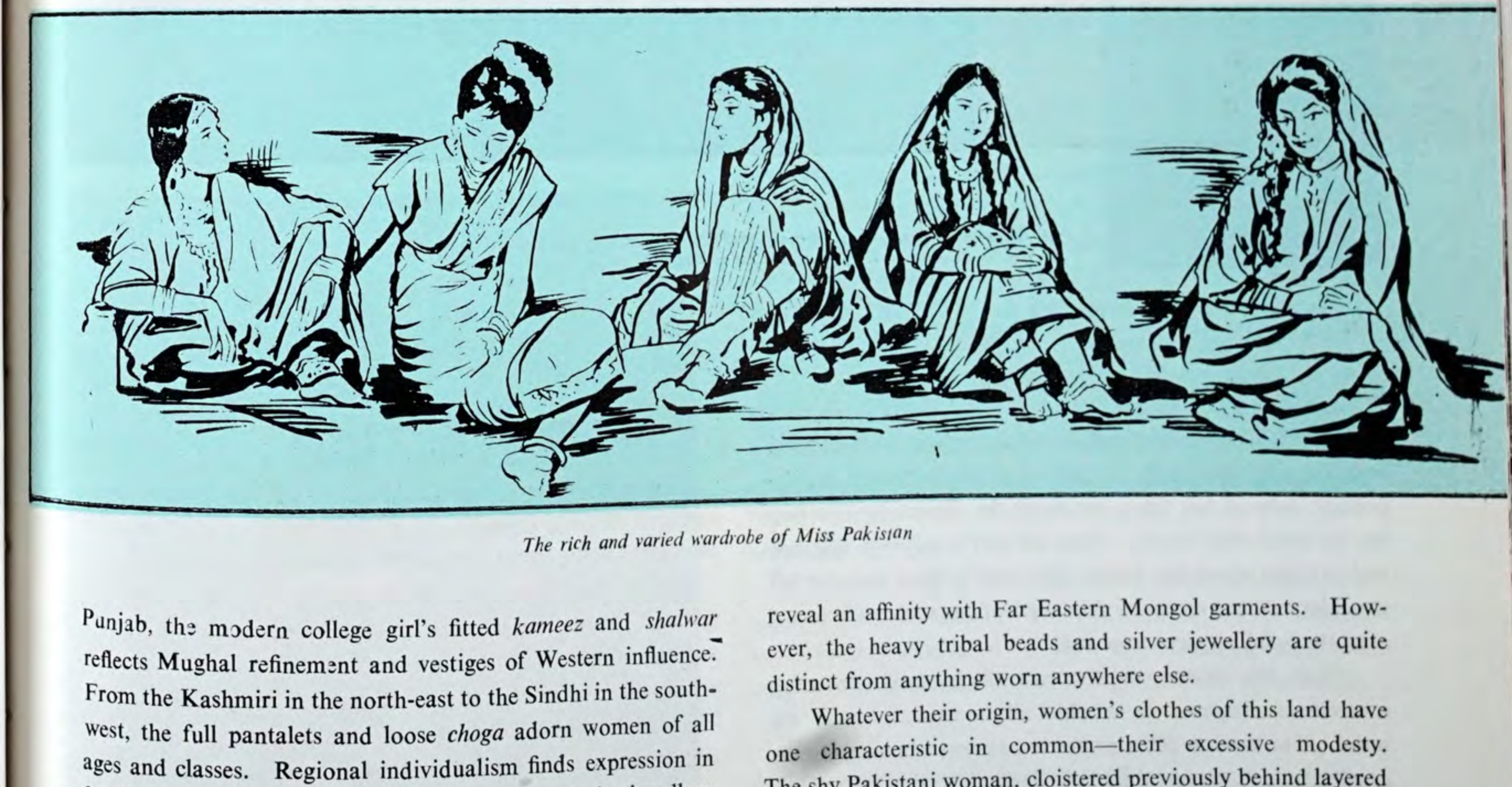
A village home scene showing Punjabi peasant women wearing brilliantly chequered lacha (or sarong) and a loose long shirt, with dupatta (or scarf)

Thus developed the three components that form the basis of most West Pakistani costumes of today : the trousers, the frock or shirt, and the *dupatta* or scarf. There are of course regional variations, and the further you move from Central Asia the more marked the changes. The dress of the peasant women of Afghanistan, where Aryan influence was strongest, is almost identical with the garments of four thousand years ago. In the clothes of the women of Pakistan's north-west frontier area, Buddhist and Greek influence has obviously softened slightly the form of the Aryan *frock*, and deeper south in the Punjab, the modern college girl's fitted *kameez* and *shalwar* reflects Mughal refinement and vestiges of Western influence. From the Kashmiri in the north-east to the Sindhi in the south-west, the full pantalets and loose *choga* adorn women of all ages and classes. Regional individualism finds expression in fabrics, colour, embroidery, cut and length and in jewellery and shoes.

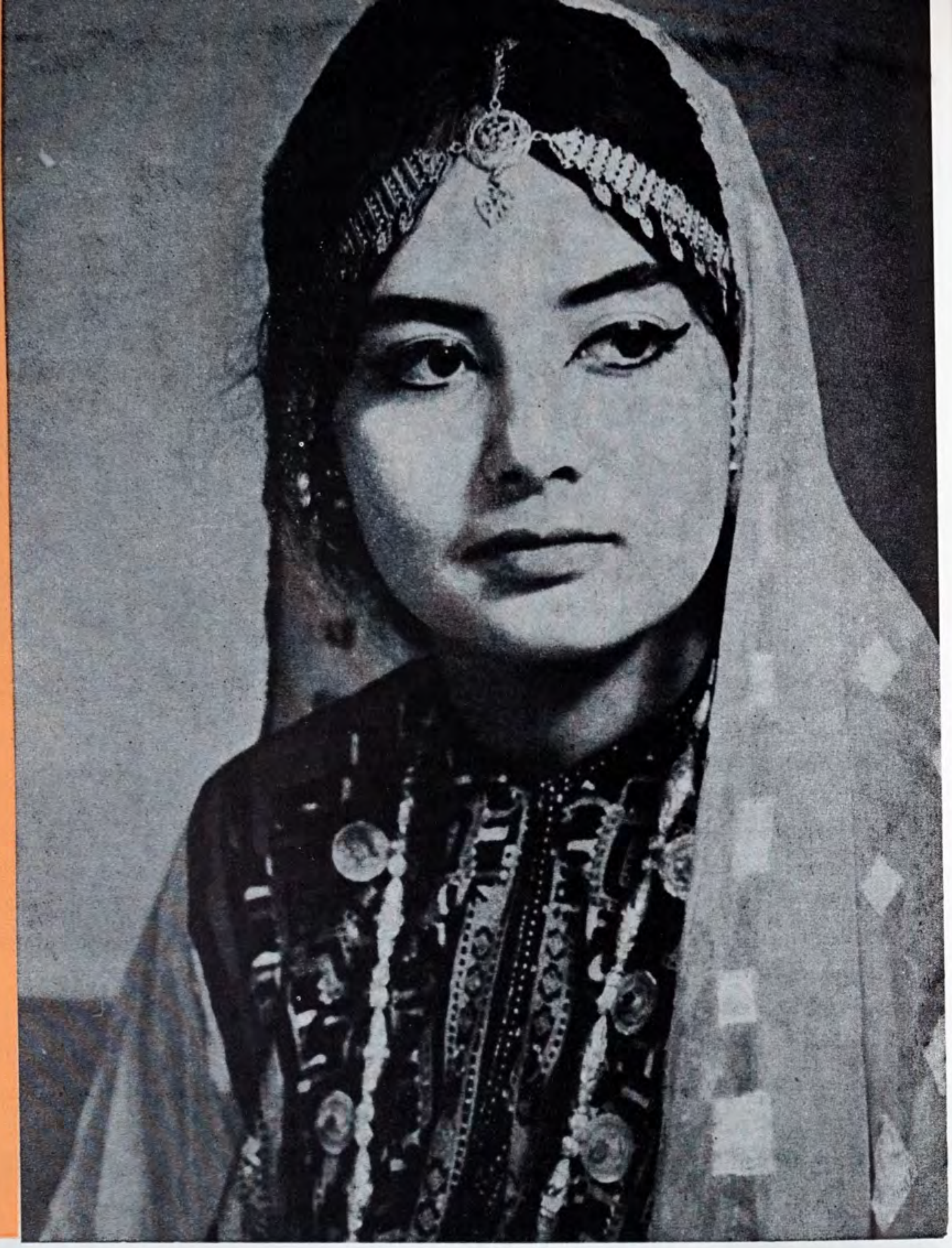
GRACEFUL SARI

In East Pakistan, the *sari* of Pakistan's earliest pre-Aryan races reigns supreme. To clothe woman in beauty, Dacca craftsmen developed their famed close-meshed muslin, so fine that a whole bolt of the material could be grasped in the fist or passed through a tiny ring. The muslin weavers' looms were later destroyed by British colonisers, eager to eliminate competition for the cotton mills of Manchester. The brief blouses and wrap-around skirts of the Chakma, Santhal and other tribes of East Pakistan's hilly regions, reveal an affinity with Far Eastern Mongol garments. However, the heavy tribal beads and silver jewellery are quite distinct from anything worn anywhere else.

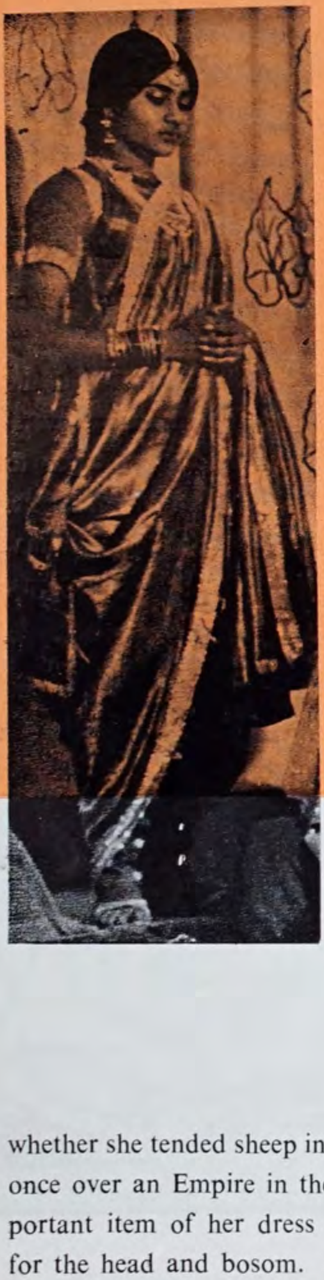
Whatever their origin, women's clothes of this land have one characteristic in common—their excessive modesty. The shy Pakistani woman, cloistered previously behind layered veils, still blushes at the sound of a stranger's voice. Hence



The rich and varied wardrobe of Miss Pakistan



The distinctive embroidery and jewellery of a Baluchi dress



◀ *Hyderabadi dress showing a six-yard long dupatta (scarf) half-draped round the figure, and the end carried on the arm*

whether she tended sheep in Baluchistan's craggy hills, or ruled once over an Empire in the garb of a Mughal queen, an important item of her dress remained the *dupatta* or covering for the head and bosom. Even the *sari* is so worn that one end extends across the blouse front and is flung over the left shoulder. When necessary this length of material can be tossed over the head to serve as a veil.

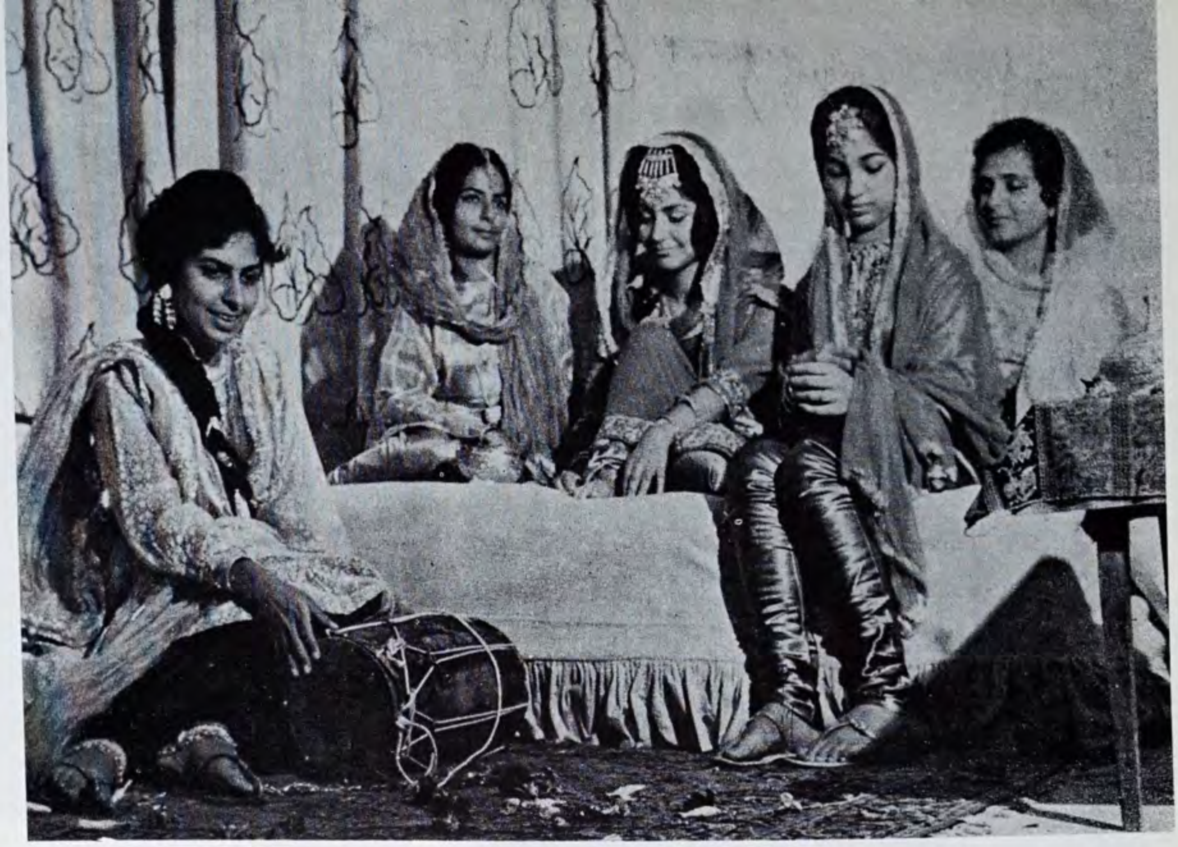
That this *chadar*, *dupatta* or veil, by half concealing succeeds in intriguing the beholder all the more, is beside the point. The *dupatta* offers protection against admiring glances as effectively as against the sun's penetrating rays. In a warm land this kind of protection is not to be lightly discarded.

THE PUNJABI DRESSES

By the flowering mustard fields of the Punjab, lusty peasant women with large earthenware pots balanced on their heads, have been going about their work since time immemorial.

With these outgoing, fun-loving women, three distinct types of clothes are popular—the *shalwar kameez*, the *lacha* and the *lehnga*.

In the towns the *shalwar kameez* is commonly worn. The wide shirt with full sleeves, the voluminous cotton or silk trousers, and the *dupatta*, fragile or coarse, depending on the occasion and the wearer's status, add a splash of colour to the crowded market places and tree shaded lanes of the



A Hyderabadi bride surrounded by friends

towns. Colours are gay if the wearer is so inclined, but muted red, brown and black are traditional. A wristful of bright, clinking glass bangles are a must and no self-respecting Punjabi woman would be seen out without her silver jewellery.

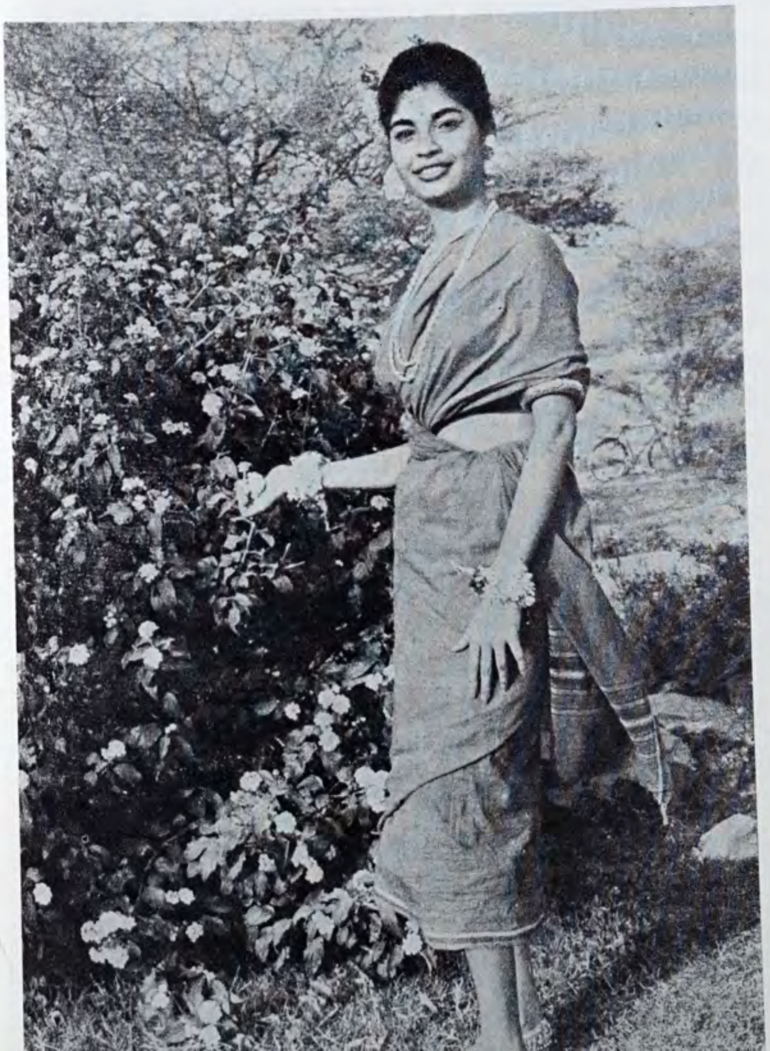
The more sophisticated wear figure hugging shirts, reminiscent of the Chinese *cheongsam*. Striped, plain or printed with floral designs, these shirts are worn with straiter, less voluminous trousers. The enveloping *dupatta* of ancient tradition has evolved into a narrow strip of material flung across the shoulders coquettishly. Like the appendix or the tail bone of the human, the *dupatta* has started shrinking of late and for all we know may well be on its way out.

But it is the peasant, working vigorously by day, dancing the rhythmic luddi folk dance at sundown, or heatedly struggling with rivals in the market place, who truly embodies the resilience and gaiety for which the land of the five rivers is famous.

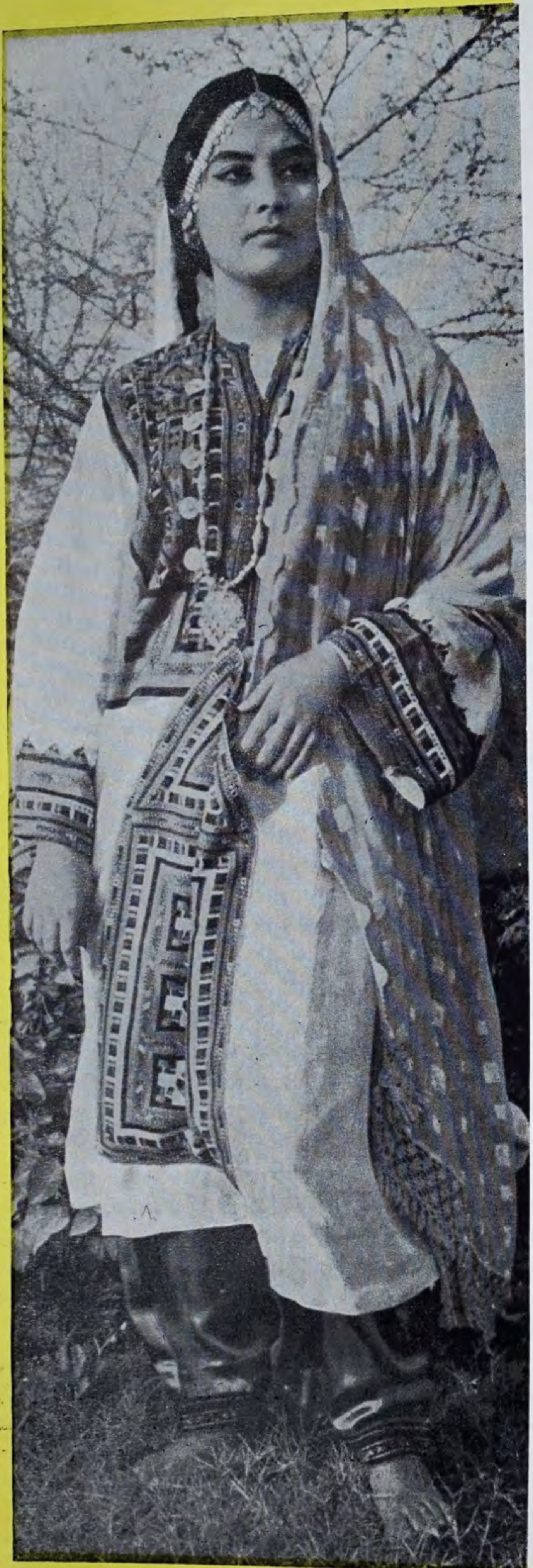
Clad in a brilliantly chequered *lacha*, or half-*sarong* that extends from the waist to the ankles, and a loose shirt and embroidered *dupatta*, peasant women can be seen carrying food to their husbands working in distant wheat, rice or cotton fields. The Punjabi woman, in fact, is always carrying something on her head. If it is not food or a water pot, then its' a bundle of washing or the grocery basket. On long trips she will usually take her shoes off and carry them along on her head, for shoe-leather is precious. Her pointed toed *Khussas* of traditional design may not have spiked heels but being of uncured leather they can pinch and bite quite fiercely. Before putting on her shoes, therefore, she wets both feet as well as the shoes to soften the leather and make the going easier.

The characteristic jewellery of the peasant woman is her *mendian* or rounded silver neckband moulded out of a heavy bar of silver. Her bracelets too consist of broad bands of silver and small hoop shaped ear-rings are worn. Silver buttons, linked with tiny chains and bells, are used to fasten the neck opening of the shirt.

The third kind of dress, the richly gathered *ghagra*, has an air of romance about it. Made of 15 to 20 yards of brightly hand-blocked material it is worn by wandering gipsy-like tribes and is associated with the tragic heroines of folk tales.



An East Pakistani sari as worn for outdoor work



◀ *Another view of the gorgeous Baluchi dress*

Colourful regional costumes of Pakistan (left to right) Bohri, Memon, Sindhi, Baluchi, Punjabi, Swati, Tribal Pathan, Hunza, Kashmiri

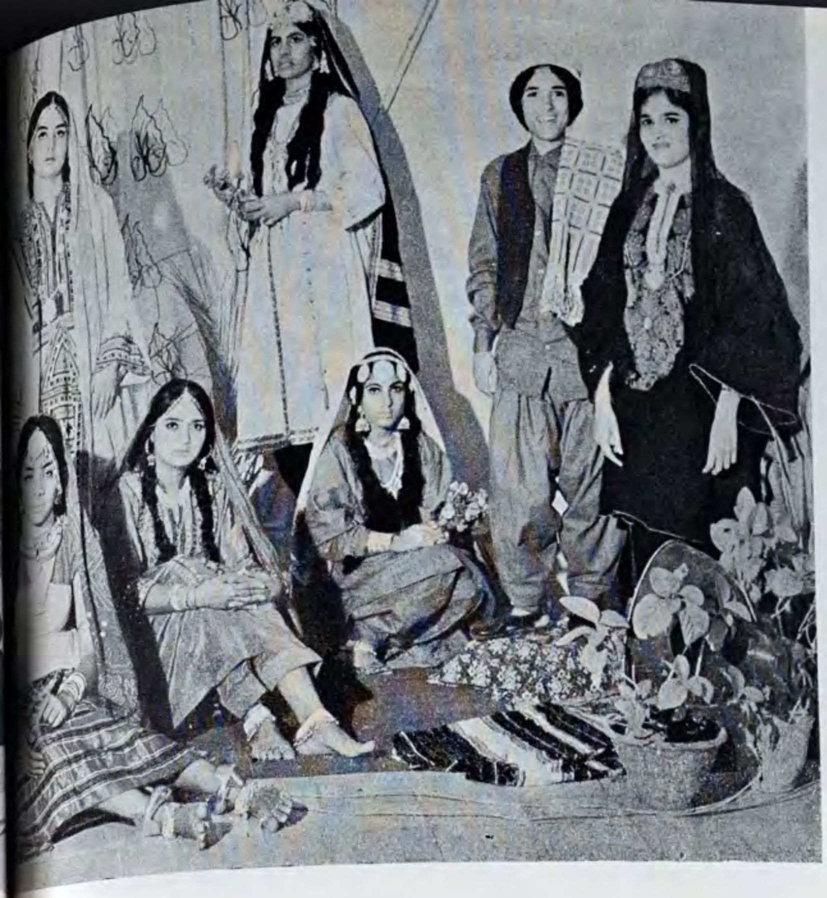
The *ghagra*, for instance, of Heer, the beautiful daughter of a prosperous landowner, billowed around her like a cloud when she went to meet her beloved, the goat-herd Ranjha. When an angry father exiled the goat-herd to the other side of the river, lotus-faced Heer would cross the river atop a strong baked waterpot for a midnight tryst. Inevitably, a jealous sister-in-law one night substituted an un-baked earthenpot which disintegrated in the river and sent poor Heer to a watery grave.

BAHAWALPUR

From Bahawalpur, the former princely state, land of camel caravans and desert stretches, of imperial palaces and gem-encrusted glass thrones, comes an airy ensemble, marked by royal simplicity and grace.

Evolved by foreign travelled Bahawalpur princesses, this airy, full skirted garment is the modernised version of the age-old *ghagra* and *chola* that came into fashion soon after man first learnt to weave—thousands of years before Christ.

The palace skirt or *ghagra*, as this one might be called, is made of six yards of material as compared to the fifteen or twenty yards that the peasant woman uses. The village *ghagra* is so closely gathered that one end of the skirt is often picked up and carried over the arm, or wrapped around the body many times. And instead of the brief fitted blouse of the modern outfit, a loose *chola* or shirt of coarse but vividly printed cotton is worn in the villages. Instead of the princesses' airy veil of chiffon, the peasant wears the Bochan or two and a half yards of handblocked cotton—a very useful item, for it not only affords protection from inclement weather or a stranger's bold gaze, but is used as a carry-all for firewood,



fruit, grain or whatever else the wearer needs to carry. Jewellery is of un-cut stones set in gold or silver and ivory, depending on whether the Bahawalpuri is a king's consort or a village maiden.

BALUCHI

The Baluchis of the isolated, rugged, waterless region bordering Iran to the north-west of Sind, are inscrutable individualists. Their's is a tribal way of life, unchanged over the centuries, and they graze their flocks and till their stony soil in much the same way as their earliest ancesters.

The Baluchi women's black or blue *shalwars* and coarse cotton shirts that hang loosely from their shoulders are akin to the clothes of the Sindhi women to the south and the Punjabis to the East. Their *dupattas* or veils are draped over the forehead and allowed to float behind like a regal train.

Silver, gold and bead jewellery is popular, and elaborate ear-rings are worn—the *lutnil*, *jhala* and *chulum* encircle the ears in silver and beads. The *dasteen* or bracelets cover the arm from the wrist to the elbow and suggest the braceleted arm of the dancing girl statute found in the excavations of the 5,000 years old city of Moenjo Daro. *Bhurgri* or bead necklaces are also commonly worn.

Like village women all over the land, the Baluchi also try to save shoe leather by substituting *sawas* made out of palm leaves for regular shoes.

So close is the Baluchis' life to nature that its influence is reflected in all his thoughts and actions. The description of beautiful girls given in an old folk poem bears this out :

They are like cypress with gazelle like eyes,
Long graceful legs and swaying hips,
With perfumed long black locks,
Which like scimitars cut through any armour.

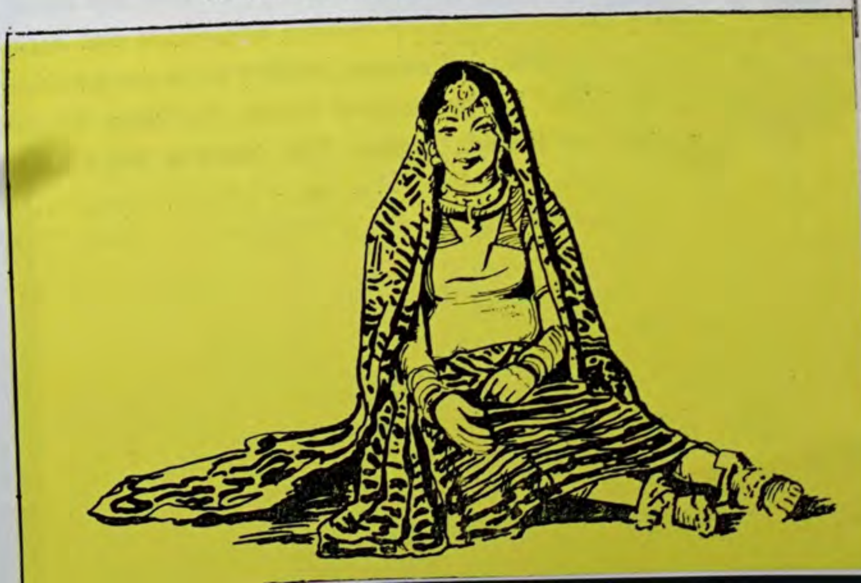
TRIBAL DRESS FRONTIER PROVINCE

Lying at the entrance of the pass that leads from once turbulent Central Asia to the fertile plains of the Indo-Pakistan regions, the frontier region of the Pathans has since time immemorial been embroiled in wars. When not warding off conquerors, the Pathans of this arid tract of black rocks and bare brown hills and peaks kept in practice by feuding among themselves. With their handmade rifles and hawk-eyed aim, they could get the enemy a mile away, for the treeless terrain offers little cover. Hence the first requirement of clothes in this region has been that they must harmonise with the landscape. Even the women, grazing goats and sheep on the mountain-side, must blend with the background, for they could be whisked away as hostages. Hence the black, grey and ochre of earth and rock are the predominant colours of the clothes of both men and women.

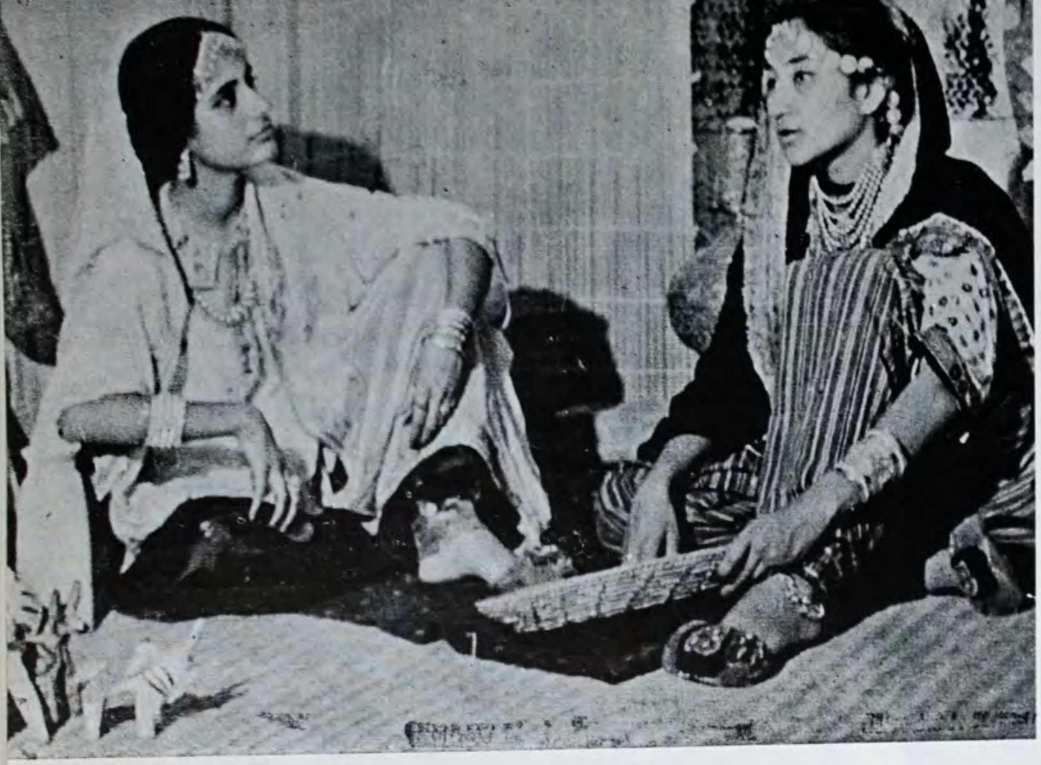
The Pathan dress is a regional variation of the type of garments that are the basis of most West Pakistan costumes—the trousers, the tunic or shirt and the *dupatta* or veil. To make the most of the tall active Pathan figure, the swinging tunic or *choba* has a long full skirt of heavy handwoven material. The bodice, skirt and sleeve edges are covered with embroidered geometric patterns, a legacy of the Mughals. Some times leafy patterns are included in the embroidery but floral designs are rarely used in this dry, rainless region.

The *shalwar*, or voluminous pantalets that drape gracefully around the legs, are both practical and modest. These pantalets appear in various styles and forms in the different segments of the Muslim culture of the sub-continent. Similar pantalets are to be found in Turkey and Iran, taken thither by Central Asian hordes. a branch of whom penetrated south into the sub-continent.

The *chadar* (veil), heavy and coarse for day wear and airily graceful for more formal occasions, has an essentially frivolous and feminine purpose. By means of half concealment it succeeds in intriguing the beholder all the more. In a warm land it offers protection from the sun's powerful rays and, when wrapped closely around, it invests a woman with intriguing anonymity. The *chadar* is an item of dress that accentuates



The richly colourfull Sindhi dress



The striped shalwar (baggy trousers) and distinctive slippers mark out the Sindhi dress in this picture; on the left is modelled the dress of rich Sindhi ladies

the Eastern women's modesty and serves as a prop for her shyness.

PESHWAZ, THE MUGHAL COURT DRESS

With their genius for getting directly to the heart of the matter, the Mughals adapted and developed an ensemble redolent with the essence of womanhood. The long clear lines of the *Peshwaz* reflected the strength and will of the ideal Mughal woman, and the *dupatta* draped softly around the head and bosom, rising and falling imperceptibly with each breath, was suggestive of subtle yet intense femininity.

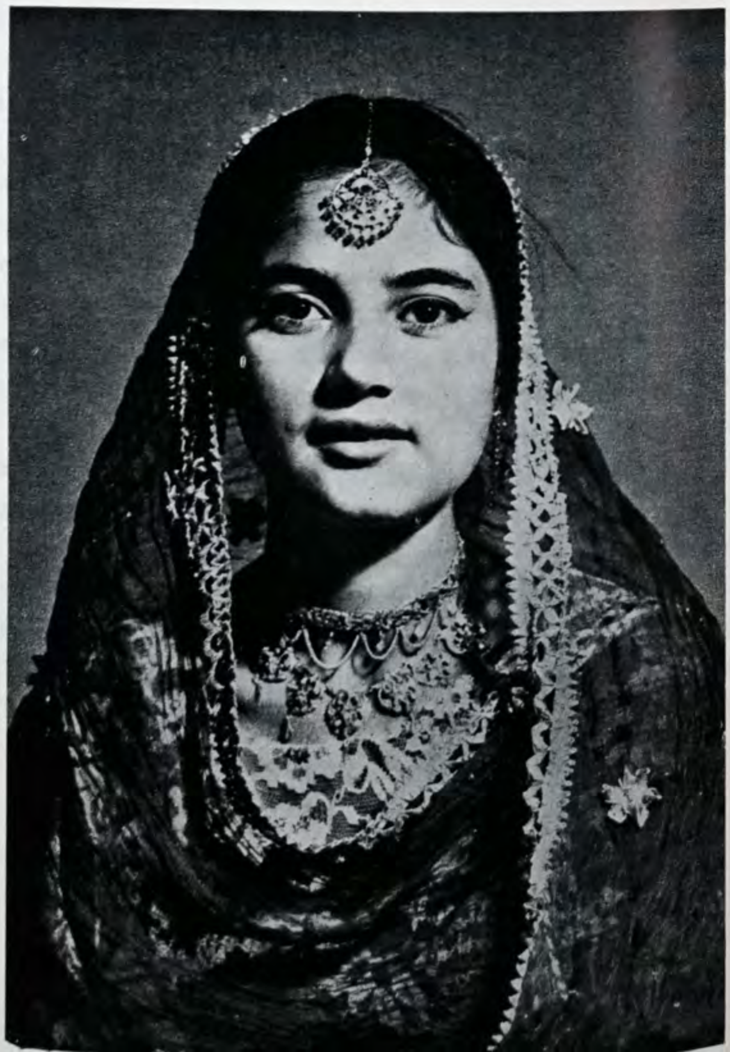
The Mughal talent for harmony and variety, expressed in everything from the soaring minarets and imperious domes of marble and sandstone to the devising of an efficient revenue system is visible in the *Peshwaz* also. The tight, ankle hugging *Pajamas*, were worn with a full-skirted dress of crisp, finely woven material bordered with heavy silk to add grace to the fall of the skirt. These were combined with an airy clinging *dupatta* lavishly adorned with *gota* and *kiran* (hand-woven tissue of pure gold or silver) indigenous to the East.

Jewellery was elaborate, encrusted with gems and diamonds in symbolic, centuries old patterns. Jewels were designed to accentuate the beauty, or conceal the flaws, of the whole body from head to toe. The ears, neck, head and arms were tastefully embellished with jewels, and waist bands, anklets, and toe-rings were liberally worn. There was a ring for every finger and a mirrored ring worn on the thumb could be used to check the Begum's make-up. Nose rings, strung with pearls and other gems, came in all sizes and added a totally deceptive look of innocent helplessness and docility to the wearer's face. Pakistani jewellery to this day is modelled on the legacy left by the great queens Nur Jahan, Mumtaz, Mahal, and Hamida Begum. The *Nauraten*, which harmonises nine different gems in nine strands, the *jhoomar*, which covers the head and forehead in a triangular net of gold and gems, the *karanphool* and *magar* ear-rings which frame the face in a glittering aura, the *guluband*, *dastband*, *pazeb* and all the other pieces possessed an enduring classical beauty that the passage of the centuries has served only to heighten.

THE SINDHI COSTUME

The culture of the Sind area revolves round the rainless desert that since time immemorial has made life a bitter struggle against nature. The endless scrub-dotted waste that offers few comforts has nurtured a hardy, handsome people who rely on mystical poetry, music and rich handicrafts to compensate for the harshness of the landscape.

Scarf (dupatta) trimmed with fancy gold lace and traditional jewellery —a dress for occasions



When not engaged in house or farm chores, the women of this region weave and embroider and produce lacquered wood objects. Their bright, patterned *khes* and fine *patchwork rilli* (bed-covers) are famous all over the country, as is their handblocked maroon and blue cotton material, the *ajrak*.

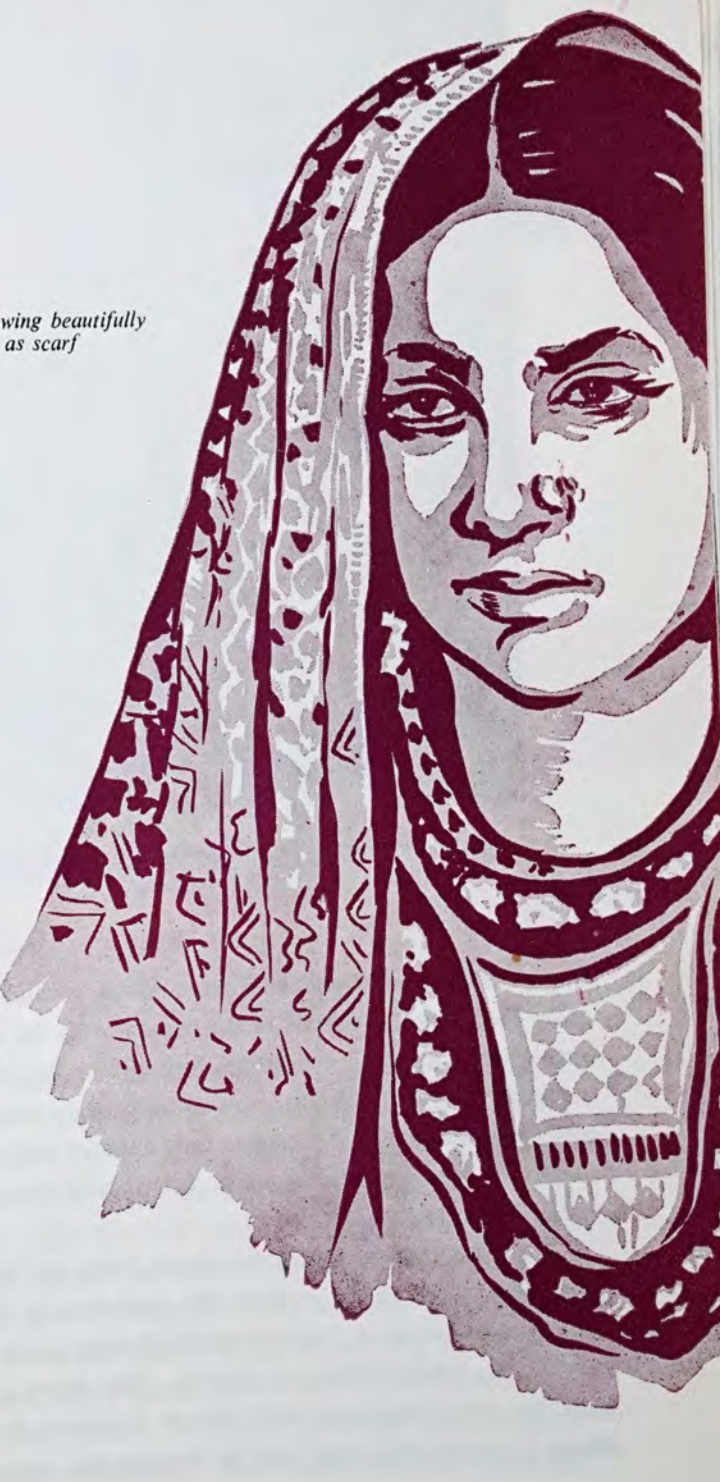
For their clothes, women turn to the basic colours, red, yellow and black, to counteract the monotony of the desert. But for the adornment-hungry women colours alone are not enough. They embellish with skill and care each of the three items of their dress, the *rawa* or veil, the *chola* or shirt, and the voluminous trousers called *suthan*.

The Sindhi woman's method of brightening her shirts is perhaps unique in the world. Tiny mirrors are tacked on to the material with the aid of closely worked embroidery. The effect is enchanting for the brilliant sun transforms the mirrors into a thousand sparkling gems, and lamplight turns the dress starry at night. The Sindhi woman when clad in her mirrored garment is scintillating in the literal sense.

How this mirror embroidery originated is anybody's guess. Shut off from neighbouring regions by the difficult terrain, prevented by poverty from acquiring gems and gold, women seem to have devised this method for adding lustre to their appearance. Baluchi women to the north and to a lesser extent the Kutchis on the south also produce mirror-work embroidery. In most parts of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent women use shredded mica mixed in starch to add sparkle to fine cotton *saris* and *dupattas*. To create the same effect the Pathan tribeswoman tacks metal coins on the bodice of her dress and along the edges of her veil. Whatever the method employed, the Pakistani woman must have garments that glitter and shine.

To embellish the *Khoomba*, the tie and dye technique is generally used. Tight little knots are tied all over the material which is then successively dyed in the different colours required. When the knots are unravelled a delicate dotted pattern based on traditional symbols emerges.

For the *suthan* or trousers a special striped material that drapes well is woven. The *soussi*, as this soft heavy cotton is called, is traditionally used only for making the trousers. With this ensemble are worn slippers, the tops of which are made of a woolly carpet weave which just cover the toes, sewn onto leather soles.



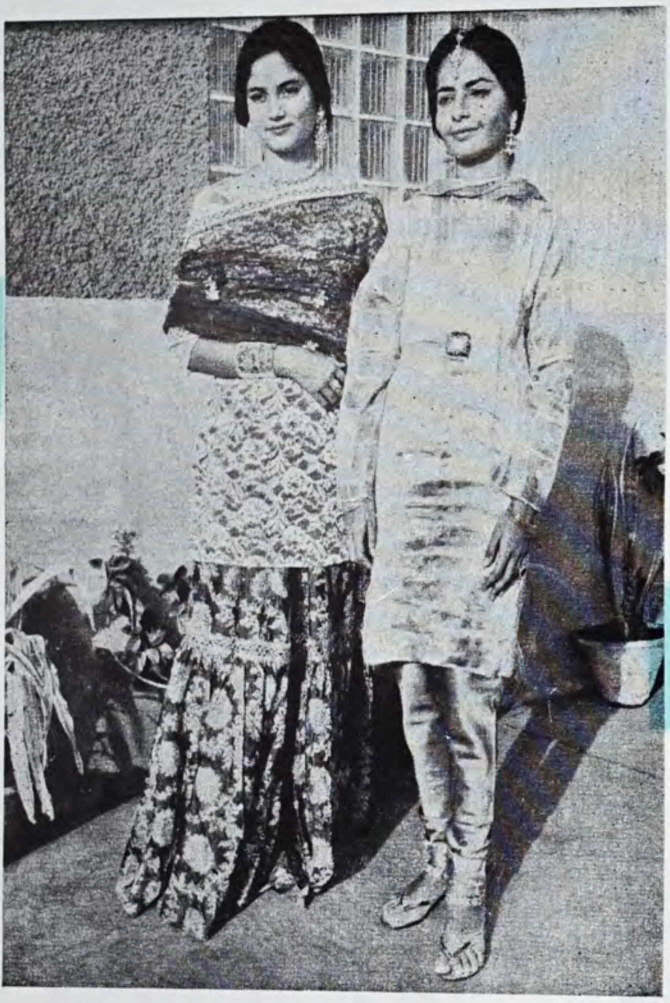
Sindhi dress showing beautifully dyed ajrak used as scarf

Bengali tribal dress pictured in authentic setting

Jewellery is simple with a primitive flavour about it. Round ear-rings are worn right round the edge of the ear, making it look like a chandelier. Necklaces of several strands of coins and gold beads with a large pendant, called *durri*, symbolise the wealth of the wearer.

THE KASHMIR OUTFIT

In the snowy hills and lake-dotted valleys of Kashmir, the gentle, peach-skinned Kashmiris carve and embroider away their days. Steeped in the beauty of nature at her most enchanting, Kashmir's pastural folk yet possess a streak of melancholy. Their almond eyes aglow with the colour of blossoming orchards are at the same time haunted with the age old spectre of man's loneliness—experienced with piercing impact in the Himalayan wilderness.

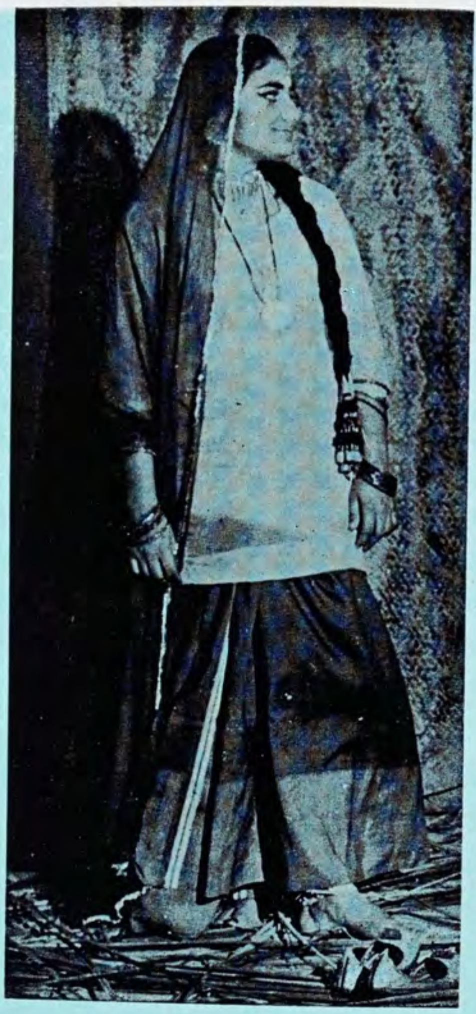


The sophisticated gharara (left) and tight pyjama of high society

The Kashmiri's clothes are simple, loose and bulky. The long wide shirt called *perhan*, the *shalwar* and the *qasaba* are strictly functional. An interesting feature of the Kashmiri shirt is the folded sleeve or *qasaba*. The sleeve is doubled back for extra protection and there is a narrow slit near the elbow in which the hand can be inserted for warmth. The loose shapelessness of this garment is turned into an asset by deft, supple fingers which cover the neckline and sleeves with embroidery. The simplicity of the garments serves as an ideal foil for the rich web-like *kashida*.

The Kashmiri *kashida*, or embroidery, is the most exquisite in the whole country. Unlike the geometric patterns of the arid, flowerless, southern regions, Kashmiri work focuses joyously on flowers and birds, fruits, sunsets, and the ever-recurring *chinar* leaf motif. Patterns are evenly balanced with trailing leafy stems and involuted vines and grapes. It is said that this nature-influenced embroidery was first introduced into the fertile valleys in 1423 by the King Zainul Abedin, who enlisted the help of experienced Irani artists to popularise the art. So quickly did the art catch on that the Kashmiris soon began to produce embroidery lovely as a painted frieze, and with the same fineness on both sides.

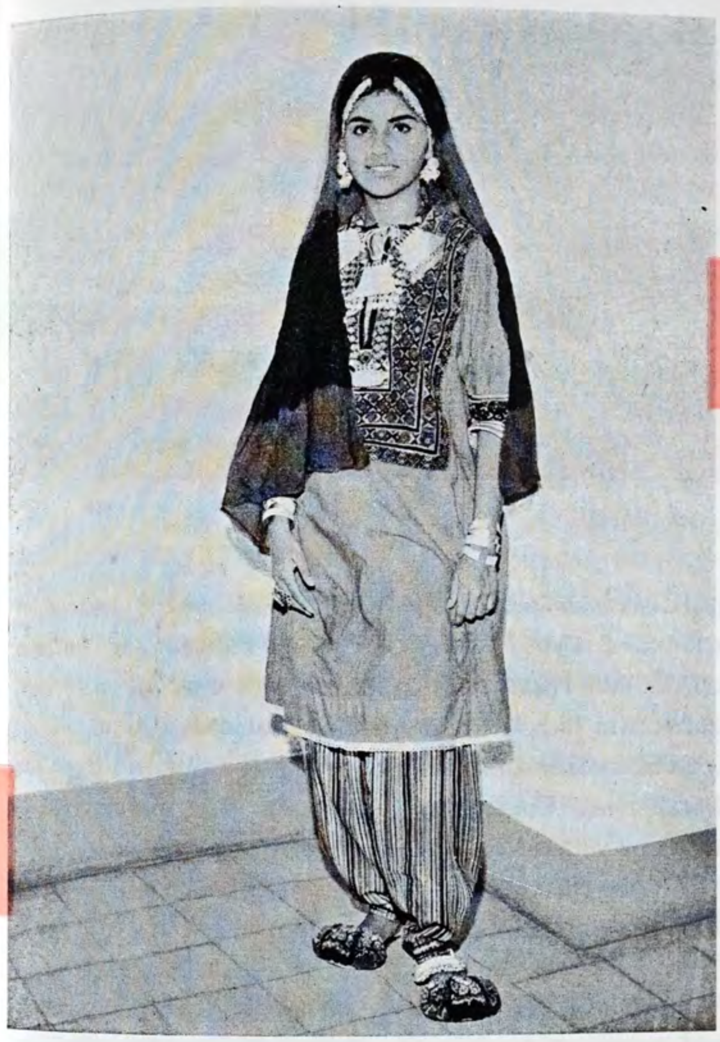
The rustic Punjabi dress with its unsophisticated appeal



For centuries now Kashmiris have been adorning everything in sight with their microscopically fine stitches. Besides their clothes, shawls, rugs, table linen, even shoes, all are the richer for the embroiderer's labours.

Caps wrought out of gold and silver came to be replaced by embroidered ones and the metal caps became the exclusive adornment of the wealthy. In Pakistan, headwear, incidentally, is used only by the women of Kashmir and other cold mountain regions. The women of the plains have never donned any type of hat or cap, treating them as a symbol of manhood.

With their richly embroidered clothes, Kashmiri belles like bold, heavy jewellery, often of silver. They fill their arms with broad silver bracelets or *baaht*, and pierce their ear all along the outer rim. Seven earings are worn along the ear's edge and there are as many in the lobe. The young girl wears the elaborate, jewelled stud in her nose for the first time on her wedding day. Long coin necklaces, introduced by ancient Central Asian marauders, reach down to the waist, and round the throat are gold chokers. Rings are worn on all five fingers and are linked with tiny chains to a wide bracelet on the wrist. The 'Punja' as this ornament is called, adorns the whole back of the hand.



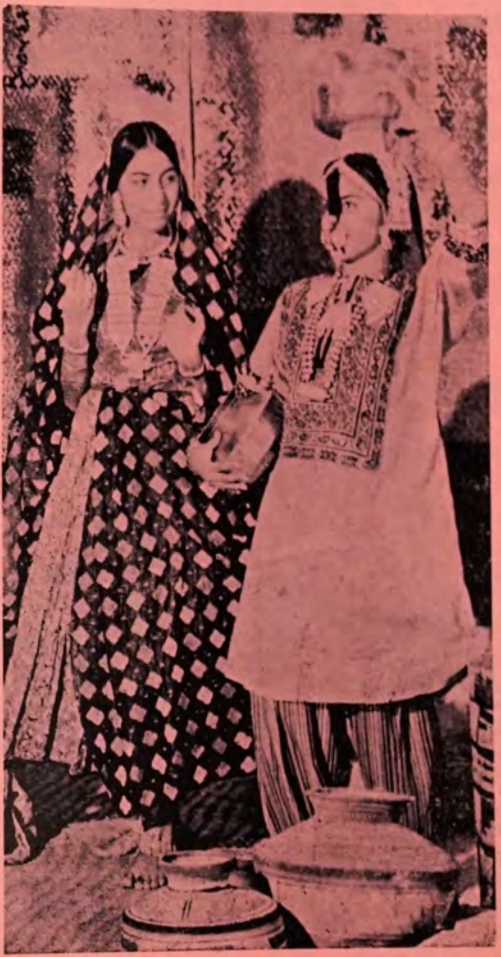
A fine display of the exact Sindhi dress

Kahsmiris, like other northern women, and like their early Central Asian invaders, dress their hair in a myriad tiny braids. Young girls let these braids hang loose around their faces but married women pull them back and weave them into one plait.

BHOPAL

From the royal palace of Bhopal, where princesses were taught to hawk and hunt and administer a kingdom, along with the more feminine arts of embroidery, perfume-distillation and the like, come dresses distinguished by simplicity.

The *chust pajama*, that clings to the calves and ankles in feminine curves and yet assures the freedom of movement essential for royal sports, is made of rich brocade for aristocratic ladies and of fine cotton for humbler folks. The *chust pajama* is worn with a shaped *kurta* or shirt made usually of transparent fine silk, gold or silver tissue, with gathered sides. The *dupatta*, trimmed with gold and silver, is many yards long and is worn over the head and across the shoulders.

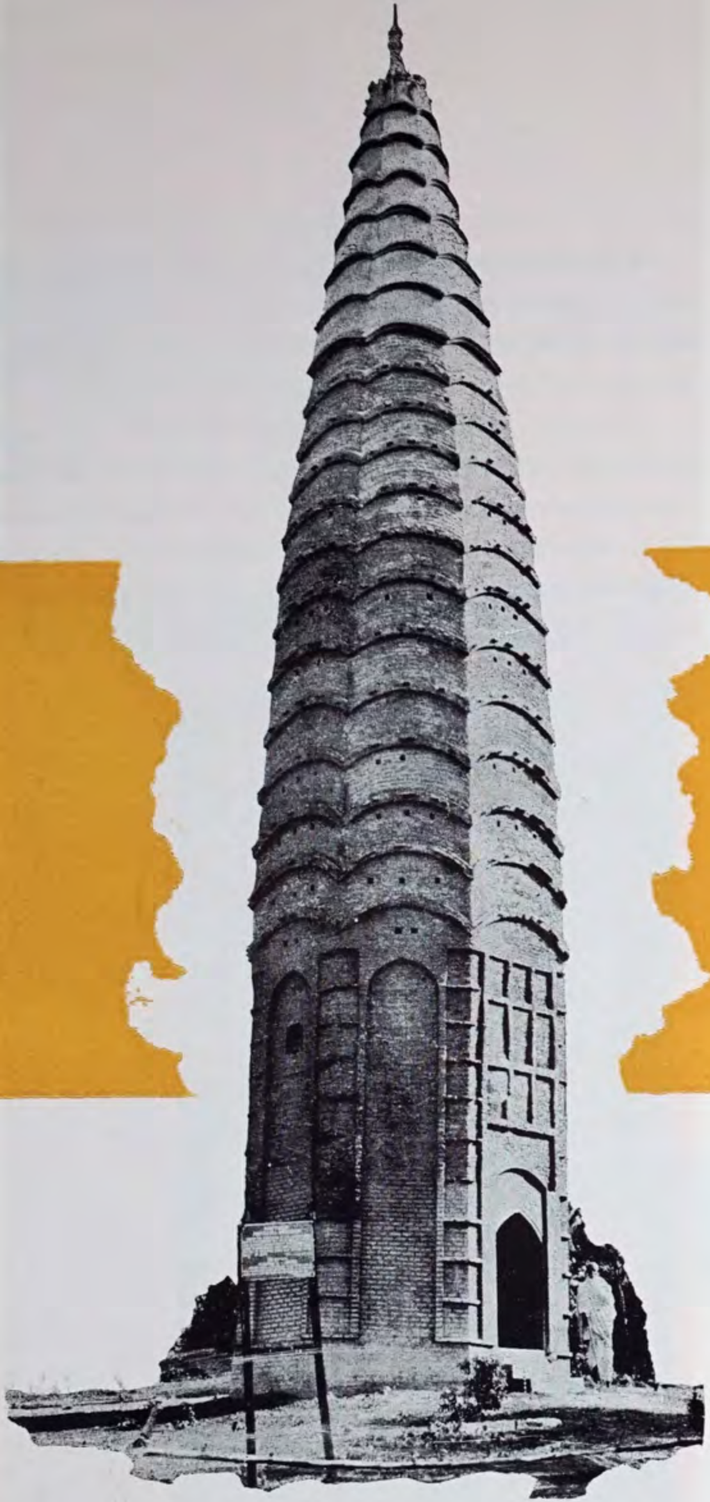


Examples of Sindhi dress, urban (left) and rural

The Bhopali *gharara* differs from the *Farshi gharara* of the Mughals in its emphasis on practicability. The long, trailing skirt of the latter is shortened to floor-length, and materials and colours are subtle and evocative. With the Bhopali women, an embroidered and brocaded *butwa* or tiny purse, is indispensible for in it she carries the cardamoms, betel-leaf, nuts and fragrant spices that when chewed serve to sweeten the breath. Elaborate jewellery and ornately sequinned and embroidered shoes complete the ensemble.

DR. M. NAZIMUDDIN AHMAD,
Superintendent of Archaeology,
East Pakistan Circle, Dacca

PRE-MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE IN EAST PAKISTAN



The lofty and imposing structure of Sarkar Math at Mabilara, District Barisal, East Pakistan

THE architecture of a country responds to the diverse influences of geography, geology, religion, social and political conditions, and hence accounts for the development of varied styles in different countries. Pakistan is no exception to this rule. Its present geographical bounds contain as great a variety of climate as of people. The rainless desert lands of Sind, sustaining only thorny scrub, interspersed with narrow strips of irrigated lands, is sharply contrasted with the monotonous flat riverain and extremely humid plains of East Pakistan, with their torrential rains and endless greenery. Over and above this natural diversity, West Pakistan was time and again invaded and ruled by foreign peoples all of whom,—excepting the last the British—entered the country through the north-west passes. As a result the regions immediately around the gateways became a gigantic melting pot of cultures. All these cross-currents of political, social, religious and climatic influences adequately explain the variety of architectural styles evolved in West Pakistan in various periods. East Pakistan, however, was not exposed to foreign influences to such an extent, being situated as it is in the inaccessible eastern corner of the sub-continent, far off from the central zone. Consequently, East Pakistan developed its indigenous culture in comparative isolation, although it hardly failed to be affected from time to time by the surging waves of sweeping political changes that took place in the West.

East Pakistan being essentially deltaic in character, a rich deposit of soft alluvium is left annually by the receding flood waters of innumerable rivers. This makes clay—an excellent plastic medium—readily available for abundant manufacture of bricks. Thus the chief building material in most of our monuments is bricks. In addition, this region sustains an abundant supply of timber and bamboo, the plaint nature of which has enormously influenced the style of architecture of East Pakistan by imparting to it a characteristic use of curves.

NO MONUMENT BEFORE 13TH CENTURY

A systematic and accurate study of architecture in East Pakistan prior to the advent of the Muslims is rendered very difficult by the extreme scarcity of extant standing monuments. Although both internal and external literary evidence and other records abound in testifying to the existence of numerous flourishing cities, magnificent palaces, temples, forts and mon-

Central shrine at Salban Vihara at Comilla, East Pakistan

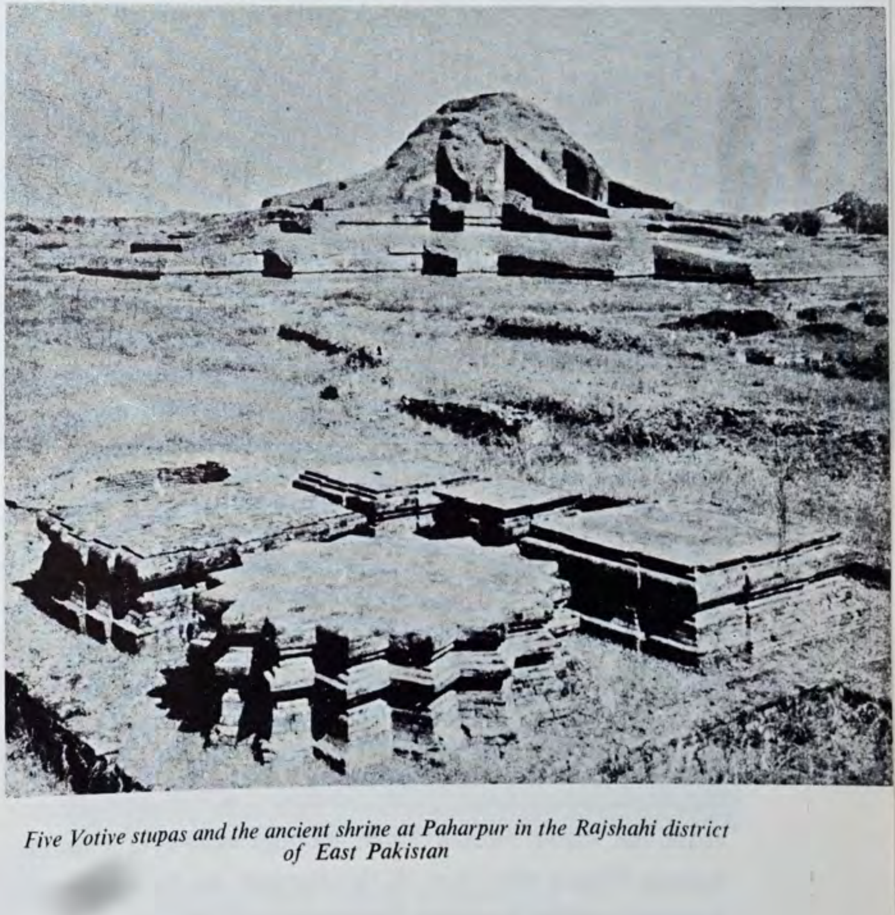
asteries before the coming of the Muslims in this province, strangely no monument of any pretentions prior to the 13th century is now in existence above the ground, from which we could study their character and artistic qualities. There are numerous ancient forest-clad mounds all over the province, supposed to contain ruins of buildings, but no standing monument above the ground representing the architecture of the Pre-Muslim period. The reasons for such complete obliterations of ancient monuments are many, but the primary one is climate. The excessive rainfall during the monsoon encourages growth of rank vegetation, which is extremely damaging to the monuments. Added to that is the nature of building materials used in those ancient buildings. Bengal being almost entirely formed of the soft alluvium of numerous rivers, its soft clay always provided the chief building material in the shape of burnt bricks, which were laid in mud mortar—a highly impermanent binding material, fraught with inherent weakness.

To mention a few other factors, the constant fluctuation of river courses, with its disastrous effect on settled lands, also contributed largely in wiping out many of our noble monuments in the past. The river Padma is therefore called "kirtinasha", or Destroyer of Monuments, for her notoriety in engulfing numerous such ancient settlements in her bed situated along its yielding banks. The destructive agencies of human hands are also not negligible.

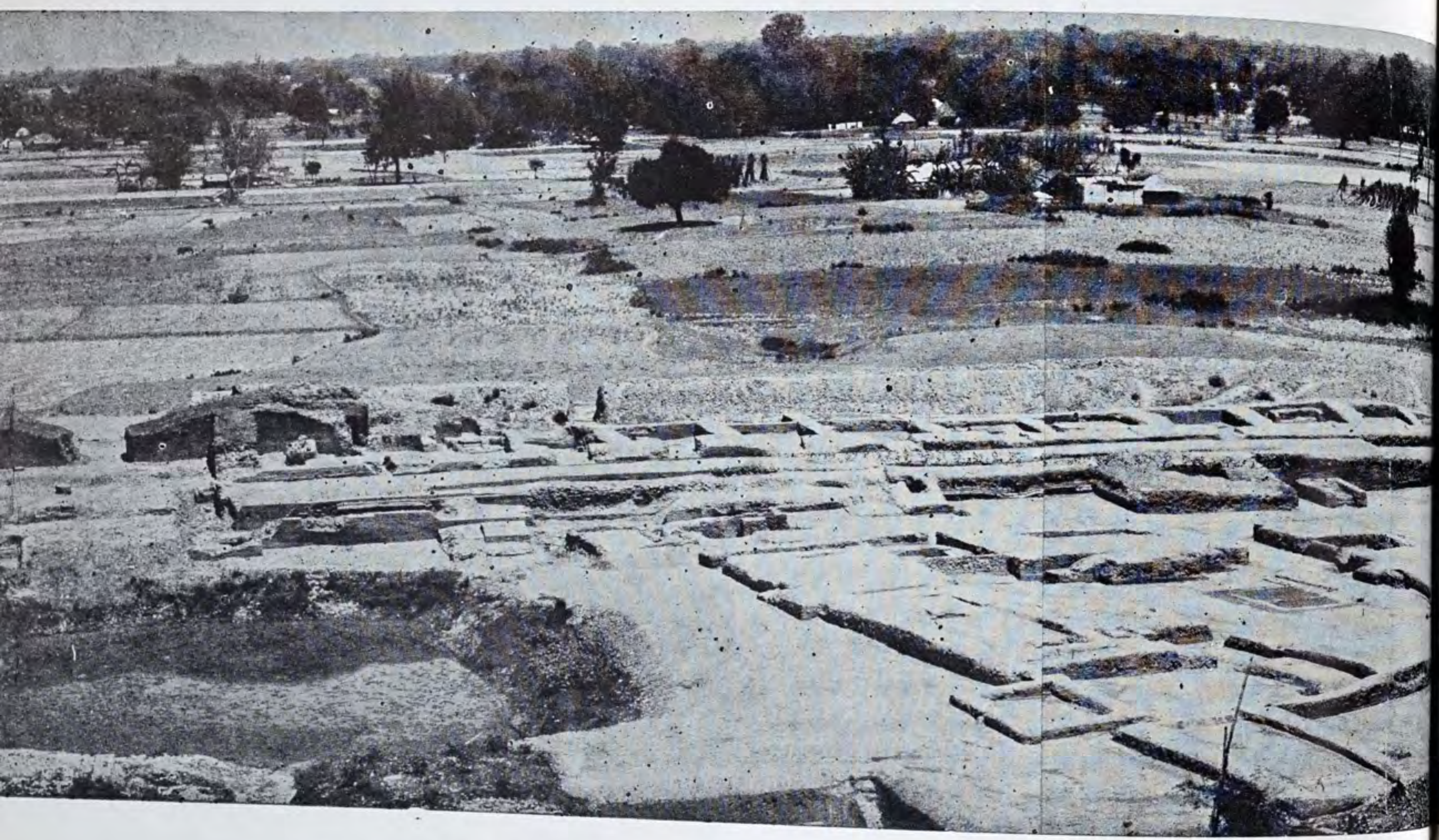
With such scanty material of the Pre-Muslim period we have necessarily to piece together laboriously indirect evidence from sculpture, manuscript painting, and excavated ruins in order to reconstruct the forms and features of the lost monuments of this region. Even in this attempt it is only possible to glean whatever little information we have of only the religious buildings, as these were built of more permanent materials than the secular ones. As a result we have virtually no knowledge of the character of any secular architecture of the province.

STUPA ARCHITECTURE

One of the most important ancient architectural forms is the Stupa. The stupa is a funerary mound and a visible symbol of Buddhist faith. But the practice of raising stupas appears to be of pre-Buddhist origin, and certainly known before Asoka (3rd century B.C.). The Buddhists, however, erected stupas on a large scale over the body relics of the Buddha or his chief disciples as an act of great religious merit favourable to salvation, and these monuments were held in great veneration. The stupas are of three kinds: the Relic Stupa, the Commemorative Stupa, and the Votive Stupa. The first type is supposed to contain the relic of the Lord Buddha himself or one of his chief disciples; the second series was erected as a memorial in places specially sacred in the life of the Buddha or his legend; and the last type were votive in character, erected in sacred Buddhist sites as an act of religious merit. There is no evidence testifying to the existence of any Relic Stupa



Five Votive stupas and the ancient shrine at Paharpur in the Rajshahi district of East Pakistan in Bengal. As to the second, Yuang Chwang records that he saw a number of such stupas in different parts of Bengal built by Asoka to commemorate the holy sites where Gautama Buddha was reputed to have preached his faith. One such is identified with the mound of Vasu Bihara in Bogra district although yet none has so far been discovered. The third class, the Votive Stupas, are numerous in Bengal and several specimens are in existence in bronze, stone and brick. Although this class strictly speaking does not fall within the category of architecture, these specimens undoubtedly help us in reconstructing the shape and form of the edifices of which these were mere replicas.



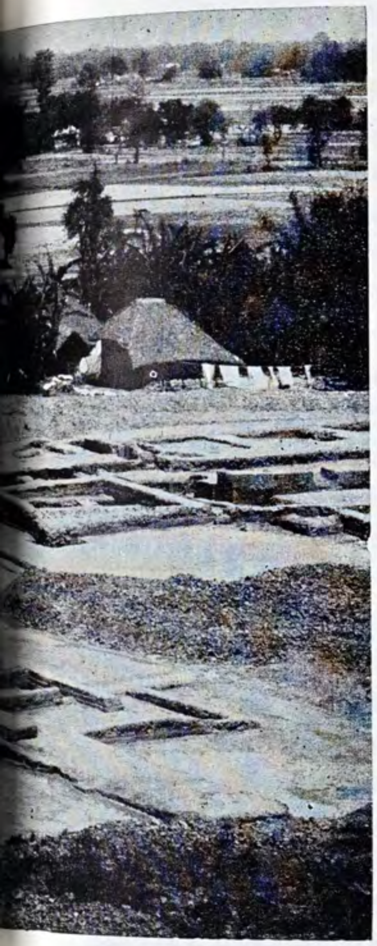
MAINAMATI STUPAS

Recent excavations on the Mainamati Hills in Comilla (Kotila Mura) have revealed three stupas side by side, representing the three jewels of Buddhism built in the traditional style. These stupas have square ornamented plinth on which the circular drum and the hemispherical dome rests, but unfortunately their crowning members—the harmika and the finials are missing. This, however, can be reconstructed from the votive Bronze stupa recently discovered from the Salban Vihara site (now in the museum on the site) which faithfully retains its other characteristics. The central stupa contained eight box-chambers while the super-structure of the other two are of solid brick masonry. Undoubtedly these three stupas are unique in character and are the first of their kind, so far discovered in East Pakistan. Besides the above series, a number of votive stupas have also been unearthed on the same site, immediately behind the main stupas. Only their circular bases remain today.

PAHARPUR STUPAS

Among other votive stupas mention may be made of a number of them unearthed at Paharpur (Rajshahi District), the largest number being at the site of Satyapir Bhita, about 300 yards east ofthe main Vihara. They present a wide variety of square, rectangular and circular votive stupas of various sizes and schemes of ornamentations. The simplest form is square but examples are scarce. The majority have a cruciform plan obtained by one, two or even three offset projections on each face of the square. A still more variegated shape is the sixteen-sided star resting on a circular base in the courtyard of the monastic area. Their basements are comparatively high, often relieved with bands of Buddha figures. They also exhibit successive tiers of elaborate mouldings including the "torus" and the "dentil". Sometimes a group of these votive stupas are found to stand on a common platform.

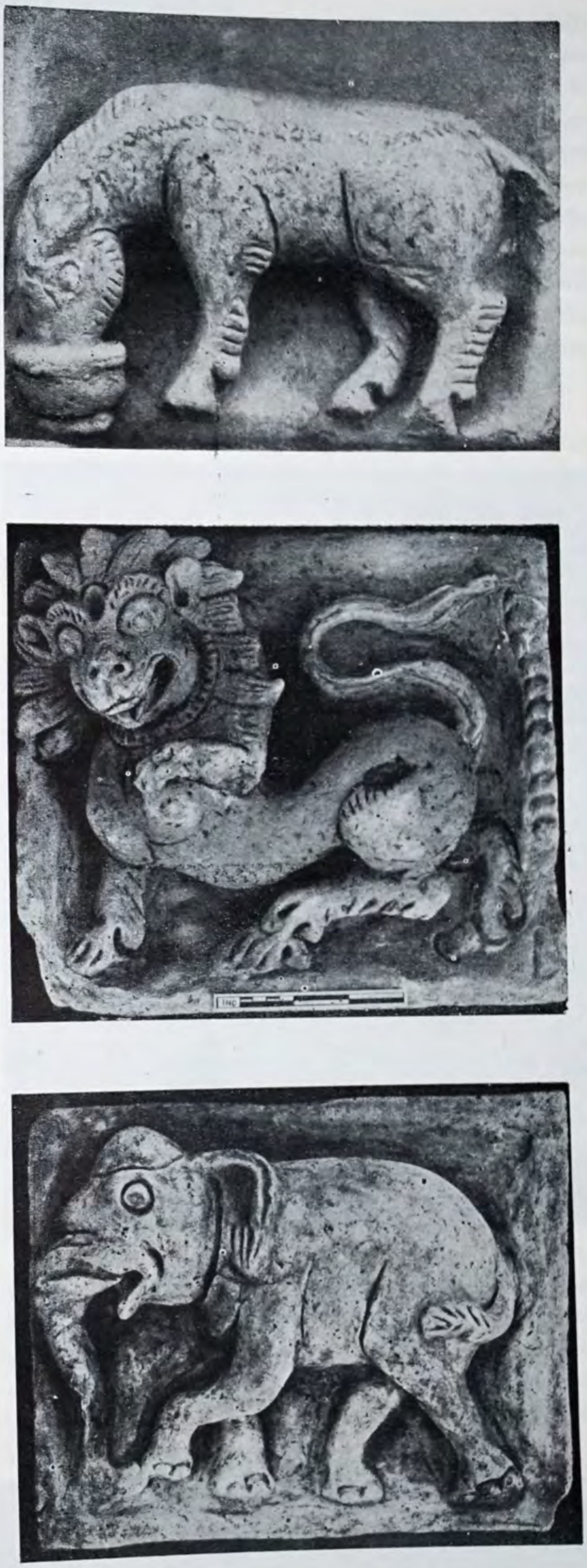
Unfortunately, nothing remains of all these stupas except their basements. However, their complete form may be easily conjectured from the miniature clay stupas found enshrined in the relic chamber of some of the stupas at Satyapir Bhita. These exhibit the traditional form with a broad moulding at the base, a cylindrical drum, a square "harmika" and a pointed finial. Its original shape may also be observed in bronze specimens discovered from Ashrafpur (Dacca), Paharpur and Jhewari (Chittagong) and Mainamati (Comilla). In these examples the base is square with one offset projection on each face, while the cylindrical drum ends in a hemispherical dome. The stone stupa at Yogi-gopha (Dinajpur), however, shows further elaboration of this type in which, besides the multiplication of the different elements, there is also a corresponding elevation of each component part. Here the drum and the dome each represents a high cylinder, their total height being more than three times the diameter at the bottom. The dome, as usual, is surmounted by the "harmika", not square but circular and ribbed on edge. This is a peculiarity noticed for the first time in stupa architecture. Above the harmika rises the series of circular "Chhatras", gradually diminishing in size as they go higher up.



An aerial view of the circular, square and rectangular votive stupas at Rajshahi, East Pakistan

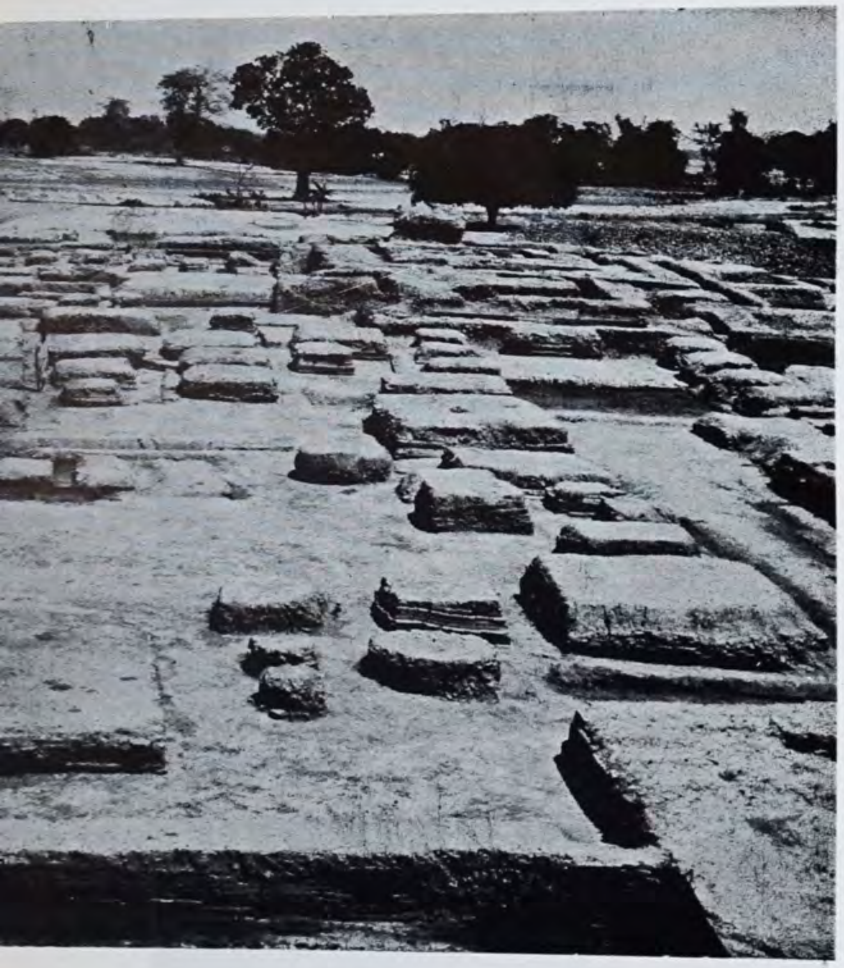
MONASTERIES

Monasteries, which later became a necessary adjunct to all Buddhist religious establishments, in early days were mere garden retreats with a number of buildings for the accommod-



Three interesting figures from the terracotta relief panel found at Mainamati in Comilla, horse, lion and elephant ation of the monks, who congregated there during the rainy season. In the early viharas or monasteries, the living quarters of the monks were not standardized, but detached structures on a small scale, irregularly grouped together. Later Viharas, everywhere followed the general plan of a large structure with one or more open quadrangular courts, enclosed by a series of cells and other chambers facing inward, with or without a verandah in front. These later establishments, far removed from the din and bustle of city life, or, in other words, beyond the begging distance of the city on which the earlier fraternity primarily depended for their sustenance, could only come into existence when the profession of begging had fallen out of fashion and the viharas themselves became self-sufficient, and consequently the proximity of the city was no longer a daily necessity. However, they must have still remained the centre of cult and learning.

Another view of stupas at Paharpur



The extensive excavated remains of the monastic establishment at Paharpur and Mainamati relate to this late period of development of such institutions, when they became well-organized and self-sufficient. The monasteries, as exposed by excavation at Paharpur and Mainamati, with their massive enclosure walls provided with only one elaborate gateway complex and guard rooms on the north, remind one more of a fortress than a religious establishment, where security from outside attack is given great priority.

PAHARPUR MONASTERY

An idea of the magnificence of such establishments can be obtained from the description of Yuang Chwang who observed spacious halls and courts and lofty multi-storeyed towers and pavilions at the Po-Shi-Po Vihara in Pundravardhana (Vasu-Bihara near Mahasthan) and Lo-to-mo-chin at Karna Suvarna (Murshidabad). Regular excavation has laid bare the extensive ruins of the Paharpur monastery, raised up during the early Pala period. It consists of a well-planned quadrangle, measuring 922 feet north-south and 919 feet east-west, lined with 177 residential cells for the monks facing inward to a central court dominated by a gigantic cruciform temple, which rises in terraces. It is the biggest single Vihara so far known in the sub-continent. Besides the row of cells on four sides of the quadrangle and the lofty temple in the centre, there were also open courts, shrines, votive stupas, bathing platforms, and refectory establishments for the convenience of the inmates. The central temple, as already mentioned, consists of a terraced structure having cruciform plan with angles of projection between the arms. This type of temple architecture from East Pakistan profoundly influenced the architectural style of South-East Asia, especially Burma and Java. Recently, systematic excavations on the Mainamati Range at Comilla have brought to light a similar picturesque establishment locally known as Salban Vihara, exhibiting similar architectural affinities. The enclosure walls of both the above establishments, though not preserved to a great height, clearly indicate from their massiveness and provision of stair-cases in four corners of the quadrangle, that these were multi-storeyed, appropriate to the terraced form of the main temple in the centre of the quadrangular enclosure.

It appears quite clear from the extant remains and other literary records that Buddhism, patronized as elsewhere by the important ruling dynasties like the Kadgas (7th and 8th centuries A.D.), the Devas, the Chandras (8th to 11th centuries A.D.) and the Palas (8th to 11th centuries A.D.) succeeded in establishing well-organized monasteries in different parts of the province. A vivid account of Pandita Vihara at Chatigrama (Chittagong) is preserved in the Tibetan tradition, while others, which have been identified from various literary sources, are Somanpuri Vihara (Paharpur), Vikrampuri Vihara (Bampal, Dacca), Agrapur Vihara (Agradigun in Dinajpur), Jaggadala Vihara (Jagaddal, Dinajpur), Kanaka Stupa Vihara at Pattikera (Mainamati, Comilla), and Po-Shi-Po Vihara (Vasu Vihar near Mahasthan, Bogra). The remains of monasteries also have been traced at Bharat Bhayana (Jessore), Sabhar (Dacca), Biharail, Kumarpur, Deepganj and Dhanora in Rajshahi District and several mounds on the Mainamati-Lalmai Range of Comilla.

Three stupas in a row at Mainamati

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

Ancient temple forms, as we gather from illustrated manuscripts and numerous stone reliefs, may be divided into three or four distinct types according to the form of the roof over the sanctum. The first and the earliest type consists of a number of horizontal tiers, gradually diminishing in size as they go up, with a recess between each stage. In its more developed form, the horizontal tiers are compressed into a pyramidal shape. This type is known as the "Pida" or "Bhadra deul". The earliest form of this type in Bengal may be traced to the Ashrafpur bronze Chaitya (7th century A.D.). This early form with its pillars resembling construction in bamboo or wood, and peculiar finial reminiscent of wooden and corrugated structures, appears to be nearer to the thatched huts of Bengal, from which this form seems to have originated.

Side by side with this tiered type, which looked somewhat stunted in appearance, there existed also the "Rekha type", distinguished by a lofty tower over the sanctum. The "rekha" temples in Bengal had much in common with those of Orissa, and bear close affinity in style as is evident from some specimens in some early sculptures. Besides the above two types, one or two rare and curious types are also recognized to have existed in Bengal, which appear to be further elaboration of the first, the tiered type. These consisted of the provision of a superstructure either in the shape of a stupa or of a "Sikhara" and both the varieties might have been prevalent side by side. However, it should be remembered clearly that the structural examples of these different types are rare, and the few specimens exhumed by excavation, unfortunately have only their basements preserved, which baffles classification.

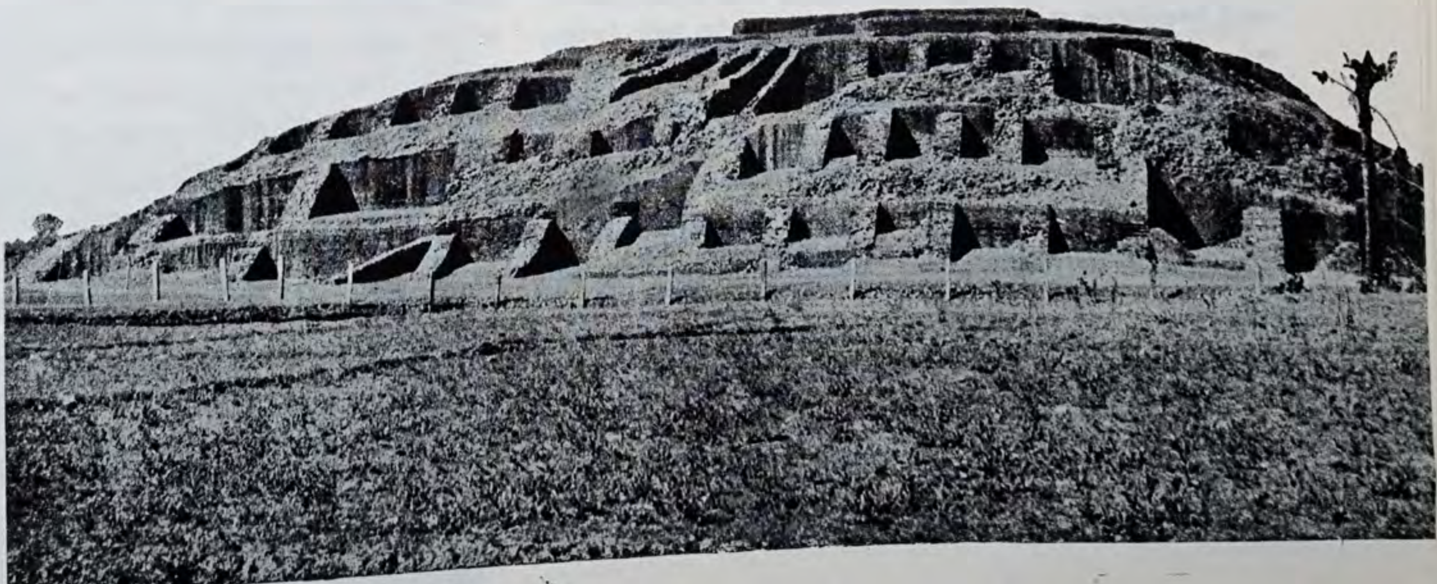
TEMPLE AT BAIGRAM

The earliest example discovered so far, is the temple whose remains are found at Baigram (Dinajpur), generally identified with the Govinda Swami temple of Shiva, mentioned in the Copper Plate Inscription dated 128 Gupta Era (447-48 A.D.). It originally consisted of a square sanctum, surrounded by an ambulatory passage and enclosed by a wall with an open terrace made of rammed earth and miscellaneous infillings on all four sides adjoining that enclosure wall.

A correct appraisal of the ancient temple form would be incomplete unless we examine in brief the striking characteristics of the Paharpur temple, as exhumed by regular excavation. The colossal structure, still retaining its lofty height of about 72 feet from the surrounding crop field, occupies the centre of the immense quadrangle forming the monastery. In ground plan, it consisted of a gigantic square cross with angles of projection between the arms. It rose in several terraces with a circumambulatory passage, enclosed on the outer side by a parapet wall around the monument in each of the two upper terraces. Access to the first and the second terraces was provided by a grand stair-case on the north.

The whole scheme of this complicated pyramidal temple pivoted round a square hollow pile shooting high up above the terraces, and, as observed by the excavator Mr. K. N. Dikshit, was certainly the result of a pre-meditated development of a single central unit in which, future expansion was,

Ruins of the gigantic Medh or temple at Gokul near Mahasthangarh (Bogra District) are a honeycomb of innumerable blind cells arranged round a central shrine



in a sense, pre-determined in a vertical direction. The basement wall is relieved with 63 stone sculptures and above this line runs a single row of terracotta plaques depicting faithfully the folk art of Bengal. The plainness of the walls in the first and the second terraces is relieved on the outer face by bands of terracotta plaques, set in recessed panels ; each terrace having double rows and the rows being separated from each other by projecting cornices of ornamental friezes.

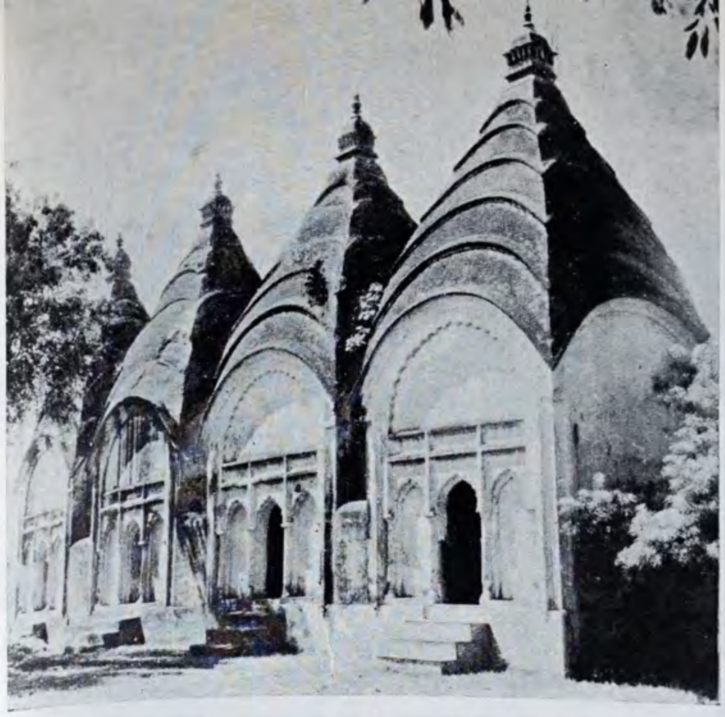
RUINS AT GOKUL

Another very interesting variety of early temple architecture can be studied in the exposed ruins of Gokul, near Mahasthangarh (Bogra). The gigantic Medh mound at Gokul, when exposed by excavation, still retained an imposing height of 43 feet from the surrounding ground level, and presented the appearance of a honeycomb of innumerable blind cells, arranged indiscriminately around a central circular shrine. A closer study, however, clearly indicates that this apparently meaningless cellular construction served the purpose of providing a solid foundation for a lofty superstructure. Unfortunately, only the plinth of the shrine has been preserved. In plan it is a polygon of 24 sides with a circular central structure, which contained a gold leaf bearing the figure of a bull in repousse relief. The main lofty shrine, which has completely perished, was placed above this imposing high podium on a solid foundation raised by means of four massive walls forming a quadrangular platform the intervening spaces being made compact by erecting cross walls and filling up the cellular enclosure, thus formed by earth. Subsidiary smaller quadrangles were also added on four sides to lend further strength to the high and solid foundation, and these in turn were again revetted outside by additional rows of walls and cells. This buttress quadrangle not only ensured stability to the whole building but also added grandeur and imposing character to the temple which stood on it. Unfortunately no evidence is left for us at present to ascertain the actual form and appearance of the superstructure over this very interesting shrine. It is, however, reasonable to assume from the different levels of the successive quadrangles that the whole edifice rose in tapering mass with graded terraces and capped by usual finials. Somewhat similar development of cellular temple architecture may also be observed in the Govinda Bhitta Temple at Mahasthan, situated on the high and dried up bank of the Karatoya where it bends in a loop outside the fortress on the north. These also are similarly dated to the 6th or 7th century A.D.

SOME NOTABLE TEMPLES

Before leaving the temples of Bengal it would be worth mentioning in brief a number of surviving medieval Hindu temples in East Pakistan with their characteristic architectural features. Most of these temples were reared up in the 17th or 18th century A.D., and perceptibly influenced by the prevailing Muslim architecture of this region, particularly in matters of surface decoration. Finer examples of this series display fabulous ornamentation in continuous bands of terracotta plaques, depicting various subjects—from the mythological scenes to ordinary life of the people in various walks of life, against the background of the exuberant scenery of Bengal. The Navaratna Temple at Kantanagar, built in 1722 A.D. by Maharaja Prem Nath of Dinajpur, and a number of temples in Putia in Rajshahi, and a similar group in Naldanga in Jessore, are a few examples of the highest achievement of plastic art in Bengal. The whole scheme of astonishingly rich terracotta ornamentation in figural relief is skill-

Mound of Vasu Vihara—a general view at Mahasthangarh, Bogra, East Pakistan



A group of famous Dhakeswari Bhadra and Siliara temples at Dacca

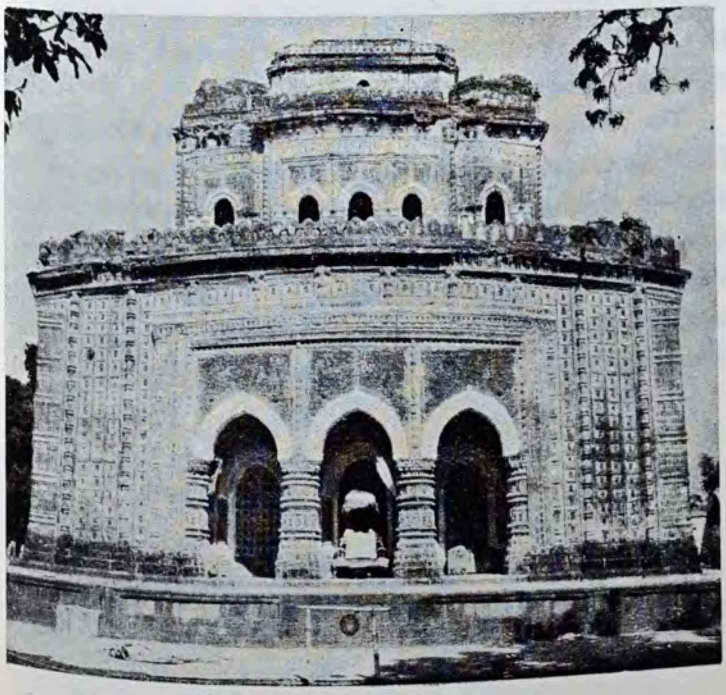
fully interlaced with beautiful floral or geometric and rosette designs, apparently borrowed from Muslim monuments such as Kusumbha Mosque, Chota Sona Mosque, Bagha Mosque (Rajshahi), Gorai Mosque (Sylhet), Atia Mosque (Mymensingh), and others.

Among these medieval temples in East Pakistan, the Sarkar's Math in Barisal district evinces the general characteristics of Rekha or Sikhara type, but crowned by a dome surmounted by finial consisting of a lotus and over it a pitcher with an iron spike protruding above. Other examples are the Deul at Mathurapur in Faridpur, and the Math at Kodla in Khulna district, both of which may be classified in the same series of Sikhara type. Other conspicuous example of this type can be seen in the 18th century Kali Temple at Dacca, situated in the middle of the race course. Here the main temple rises in a lofty conical spire, which rests on a raised substructure containing a series of chambers, a feature borrowed from the 18th century Muslim mosques, such as Khan Muhammad Mirdha's Mosque and Kartalab Khan's Mosque at Begum Bazar.

DACCA TEMPLES

The famous Dhakeswari group of Temples at Dacca may be classified under the composite style of "Bhadra" and "Sikhara" types. Among these, one group consists of four spired temples resting on a raised platform. Each one, having a square sanctum, is capped with six diminishing tiers of domical roof of the typical curved Bengali type, and crowned by a spiked *Kalasa* (finial) enclosed within a lotus bud. The other group consists of three pyramidal Sikhara temples surmounted by pinnacles. The sikharas consist of four receding tiers—the first a Bengali domical roof, and the remaining three of the North Indian canopied type, the whole being crowned by a lotus finial.

A general view of Kanti Nagar temple at Dinajpur, East Pakistan



CURVILINEAR STYLE

A notable architectural feature in these medieval temples, as also to a large extent in contemporary Muslim monuments, is the curvilinear elevation, a typically Bengali element developed obviously from wooden houses and bamboo thatched huts so common even in modern Bengal villages. The cornices of these structures are carried across its front in a series of parallel curves, bent in the form of a bow. Such a distinctive application of curves specially affects the form of the roof and its corner eaves, which in contour are parabolic and are clearly inherited from a bamboo frame-work, designed to throw off heavy monsoon rain. One particularly beautiful example of this type is the Bangala temple in Handial (Pabna). The Rajaram temple at Khalia (Faridpur) also belongs to this type, but it is rectangular in ground plan and is a two storeyed structure, consisting of six rooms on the ground floor and three in the upper storey, with an open terrace in front.

Another development of this style consists in the provision of a tower. Over the curved roof a tower is erected sometimes singly but usually surrounded by a cluster of corner towers, often richly ornamented with terracotta relief, and according to the number of these, the temple is classified as "Pancha-ratna" or Five Jewelled, "Nava-ratna" or Nine Jewelled, and so on. One beautiful example though dilapidated, is the "Satara-ratna" (Seventeen Jewelled) temple near Comilla town, built by one of the Rajas of Tripura in the 18th century. Another variation is the Jor-Bangala or Twin-hut type, which, though it differs little in its interior plan, has a distinctive exterior. As the name suggests, it is a twin (Jor) structure resembling two thatch and bamboo huts joined together. One such beautiful specimen is the Jor-Bangala temple at Dakshin Raghabpur in Pabna district.

The only other temple which deserves a brief notice in this description is the Sikh Temple near the Public Library Building (Ramna) at Dacca erected in the early 18th century, now surrounded by ugly hutments. It consists of a series of eight rooms arranged round a central chamber (total nine) and resembles the Bibi Pari tomb in general ground plan. All these chambers are inter-connected by arched doorways and all covered by flat vaults resting on coping arches at the sides.

A meeting of the Central Government Cabinet, being presided over by President Mohammad Ayub Khan

HOW PAKISTAN IS GOVERNED

MASIHUZ-ZAMAN*

PAKISTAN is an Islamic Republic and the basic features of the government are given in the 250 articles of the Constitution of 1962. This provides for *a form* of federal government with the President heading the national executive and the two governors heading the provincial executive in the two provinces. The seat of the national government is in Islamabad which is also the capital of Pakistan. The provincial governments are located in Lahore, West Pakistan, and Dacca, East Pakistan.

THE PRESIDENT

The President of Pakistan is both the Head of the State and the Chief Executive of the country. He is voted to power every five years by 80,000 Councillors. These Councillors are themselves elected by constituencies representing a population of 800 to 1200 persons. Incidentally these same councillors also elect the members of the national and the provincial legislatures and the chairman of local councils.

The President is not responsible to the Parliament. There are provisions for removal and even impeachment of the President. But the provisions ensure that the government does not become unstable through irresponsible use of this power of the legislature.

The President has a Council of Ministers to advise him. The Ministers are appointed by him and hold office during his pleasure. Although the discretion of the President is unfettered in the matter, a practice has been growing for appointing around fifty per cent members of the Council from among members elected to the legislatures. Once appointed the ministers must resign their seats in the house.

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*A senior C.S.P. officer, who has written numerous articles on the administrative problems of Pakistan.

THE LEGISLATURE

There is a unicameral legislature at the Centre known as the National Assembly which has a membership of 156 equally share between the East and West Pakistan. Six of these seats are reserved exclusively for women, three from each province. There is no bar, however, to women contesting seats from unreserved seats. The legislative capital of Pakistan is Dacca, but sessions are also held in West Pakistan. The Speaker of the Assembly is elected by the house and ranks next to the President and takes over the government in his absence. The provincial legislatures are also unicameral and each has a membership of 156 too.

The legislature in Pakistan is an independent but not a sovereign body. Its two main functions are making laws and approving taxation and appropriations. Law making in Pakistan is confined generally to making provisions and giving orders and directions, the disregard or defiance of which can be punished in a court of law. In this sense it is different from law-making in the U.S.A. where every expenditure authorised by the Congress is done in the form of a law.

The President can withhold assent to any bill passed by the National Assembly. In that case the legislature must pass the bill by a two thirds majority for resubmitting to the President. If the President is still unwilling to give his assent, he must put the legislation to referendum by the Councillors (who elected him and also the Parliament). The President can also issue Ordinances when the Parliament is not in session. Such Ordinances shall have the effect of law. But as soon as the Parliament is in session, it must either approve or disapprove of the Ordinance. If it does not approve, the Ordinances cease to have any effect.

The National Assembly has the power to accept or reject only new taxation proposals. Similarly its power to control appropriations extends only to 'new expenditure'. But 'new expenditure' includes expenditure which exceeds by ten per cent or more, estimates previously sanctioned by the Assembly.

JUDICIARY

The judiciary in Pakistan has inherited a long and illustrious tradition of stout independence. The President of Pakistan, Field-Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, had the generosity to respect these traditions even during the time of Martial Law when he took over power as the Chief Administrator of the Martial Law Regime, although at times he had cause to be chagrined.

The Supreme Court of Pakistan has original jurisdiction in disputes between the Provinces, and between the Centre and the Provinces. It also hears appeals against the decisions of the High Courts provided they have ended in death sentence, or involve contempt of court or are certified by the High Court to involve a substantial point of law.

The Judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Courts hold office until they are 65. Their terms of service, including their pay and allowances are laid down in the Constitution and can be altered in the same manner as the constitution itself. The Judges cannot accept an office of profit under the Government of Pakistan for two years after their retirement or resignation. They cannot be removed from office except by the Supreme Judicial Council. This body is comprised of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the two senior-most judges of the Supreme Court, and the two Chief Justices of the two High Courts. The President may either on his own or when moved by the Council, direct the council to enquire into cases of gross misconduct or lack of physical or mental capacity of a judge. On the report and recommendation of the Council the President may remove the judge.

President Mohammad Ayub Khan addressing a mammoth Public meeting at Liaquat Bagh Rawalpindi.

The High Courts have jurisdiction over all matters whether related to the Centre or the Provinces which originate in the province. They have powers to issue writ of mandamus, certiorari, habeas corpus, and directions and orders to the government functionaries. They can decide whether a law passed by the Central or the Provincial Legislature violates any of the Fundamental Rights granted in the Constitution (viz. freedom of speech, assembly, association).

CENTRE-PROVINCES RELATIONSHIP

The Constitution of 1961 declares Pakistan to be a form of a federation. All subjects not contained in the central list are provincial subjects liable to legislation by the Provincial Legislature. This amounts to giving greater autonomy to

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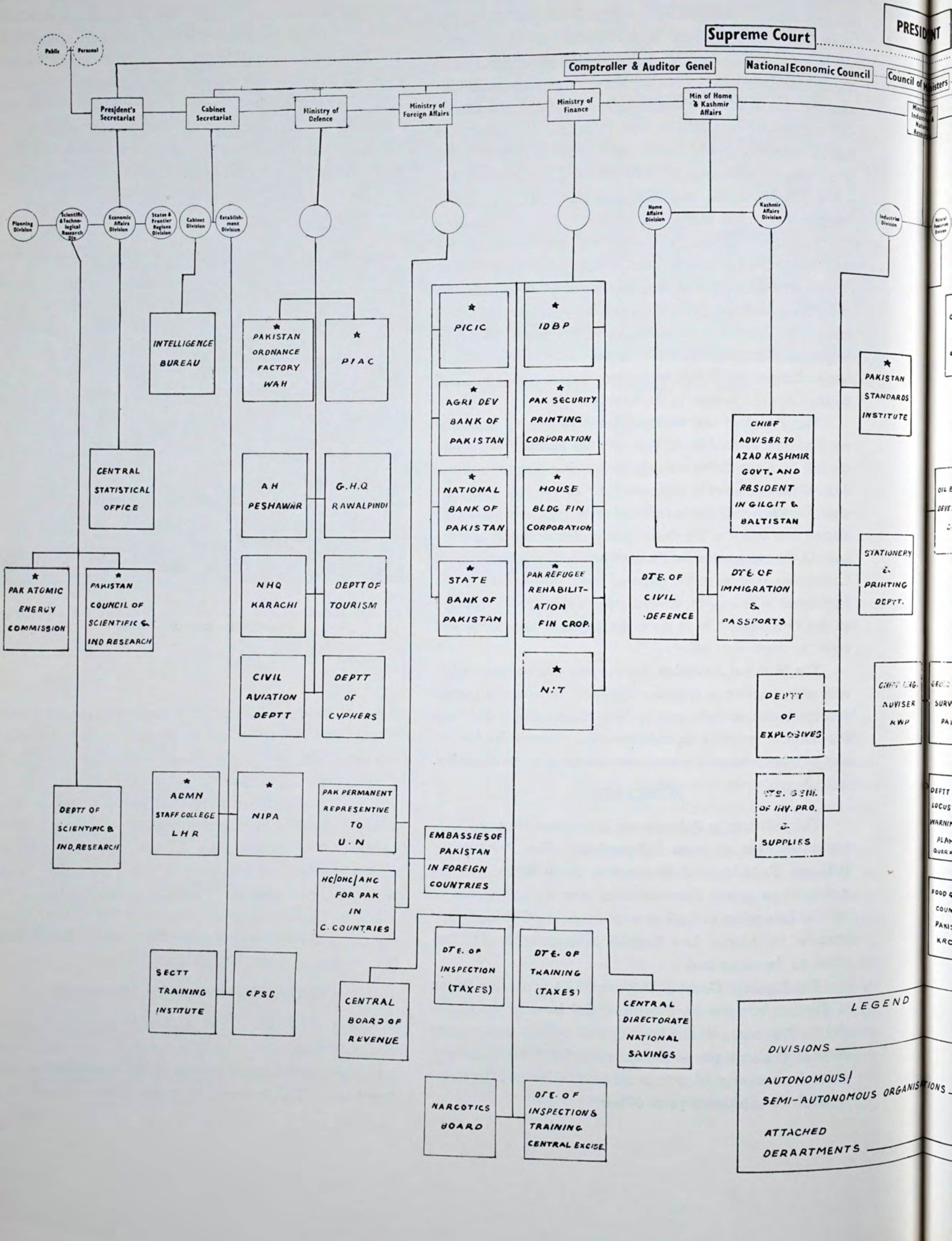
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CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE
AH PESHAWAR
G.H.Q RAWALPINDI
★ NATIONAL BANK OF PAKISTAN
★ HOUSE BLDG FIN CORPORATION
OIL E DEVE
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★ PAKISTAN COUNCIL OF SCIENTIFIC & IND RESEARCH
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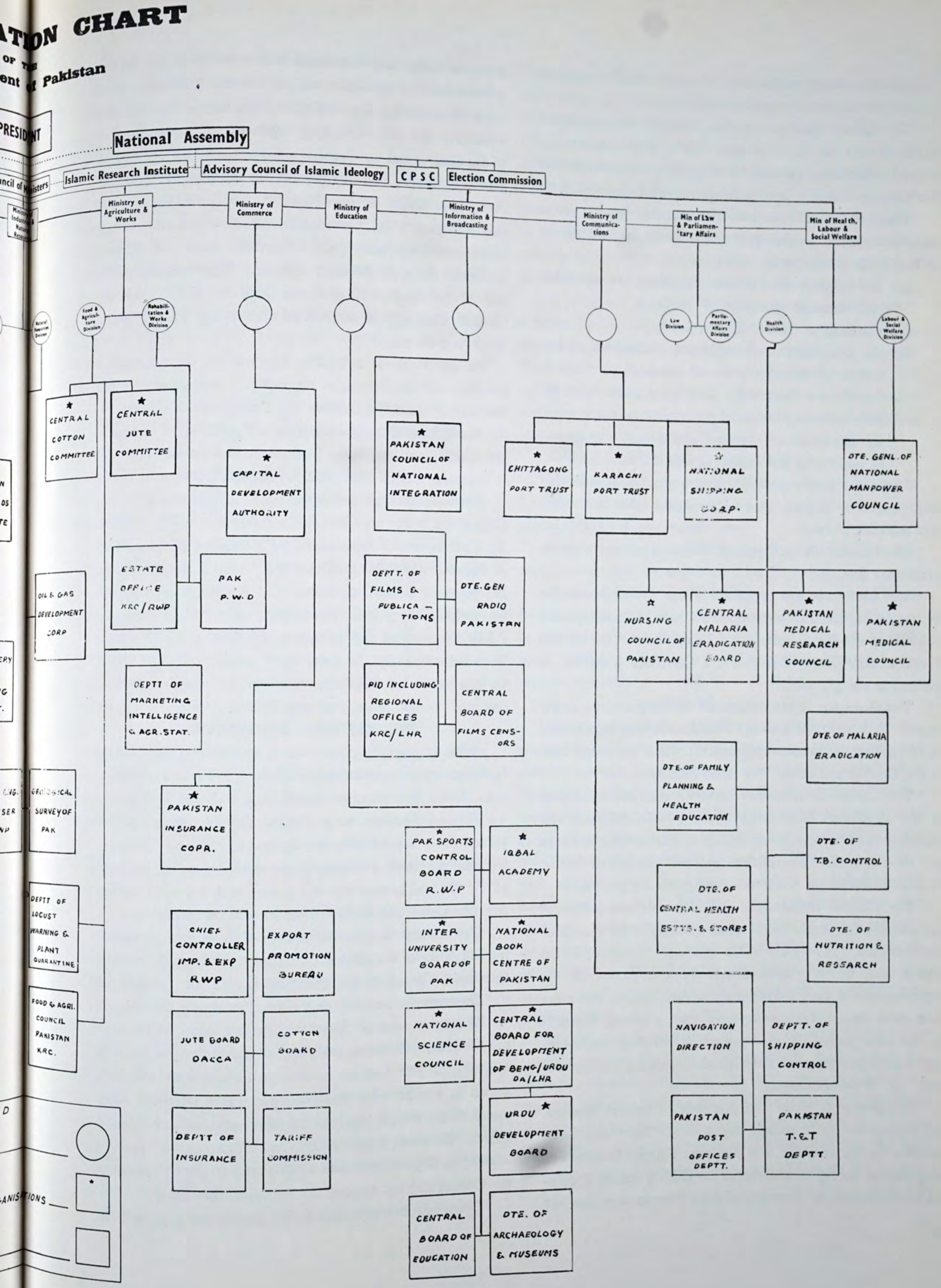
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Ministry of Communications
Min of Law & Parliamentary Affairs
Min of Health, Labour & Social Welfare
Natural Resources Division
Food & Agriculture Division
Rehabilitation & Works Division
Law Division
Parliamentary Affairs Division
Health Division
Labour & Social Welfare Division
★ CENTRAL COTTON COMMITTEE
★ CENTRAL JUTE COMMITTEE
★ CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY
ESTATE OFFICE KRC/RWP
PAK P.W.D
OIL & GAS DEVELOPMENT CORP
DEPTT OF MARKETING INTELLIGENCE & AGR. STAT.
★ PAKISTAN INSURANCE COPR.
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF PAK
DEPTT OF LOCUST WARNING & PLANT QUARANTINE
FOOD & AGRI. COUNCIL PAKISTAN KRC.
CHIEF CONTROLLER IMP. & EXP RWP
EXPORT PROMOTION BUREAU
JUTE BOARD DACCA
COTTON BOARD
DEPTT OF INSURANCE
TARIFF COMMISSION
★ PAKISTAN COUNCIL OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION
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PAKISTAN POST OFFICES DEPTT.
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DTE. OF FAMILY PLANNING & HEALTH EDUCATION
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ANISATIONS

the provinces than ever before. Railways and Industry too are now for the first time provincial subjects.

The Central Government has, however, several devices to ensure that the unity and the integrity of the country are properly maintained and these arrangements have considerable flexibility to ensure a smooth development of these relations.

Under Article 131 the National Assembly has powers to make laws even in the provincial field when the national interest of Pakistan, in relation to

(a) the security of Pakistan, including the economic and financial stability of Pakistan;

(b) planning or co-ordination; or

(c) the achievement of uniformity in respect of any matter in different parts of Pakistan, so requires, the Central Legislature shall have power to make laws (including laws having extra-territorial operation) for the whole or any part of Pakistan with respect to any matter not enumerated in the Third Schedule.

The same article provides that a provincial Assembly might move the National Assembly to make a law confined to that province alone.

The Central law will prevail if it is in conflict with the provincial law.

The Governors are appointed by the President and the Provincial Ministers are also appointed with his approval and hold office during his pleasure. Under Article 66 (2) the President may issue a direction to a Governor which he is obliged to comply with.

The Governor is not responsible to the Provincial Legislature. It is assumed that the President having been elected by the nation as a whole represents the will of the people both in the Central and in the Provincial Executive.

The Central Government controls all loans and borrowings of the Provincial Government from outside Pakistan, and prohibits such borrowings or raising of loan as long as a loan of the Central Government or one guaranteed by the Central Government is outstanding against the provinces.

The Central Government can also influence provincial policies through grants-in-aid which it makes to the Provincial Governments. A measure of the financial relationship of the Centre with the provinces is that the grants-in-aid to the Governments of East Pakistan in the year 1962-63 was more than twice the revenue receipts of that province. Similarly for the same period the grants-in-aid of the Central Government was three times that of the revenue receipts of the Government of West Pakistan.

The provinces share the proceeds of central taxation, like income tax, sales tax and excise duty. The Constitution provides for the creation of a National Finance Commission composed of the representatives of the Central and the Provincial Governments to recommend from time to time how the proceeds of the taxes mentioned in Article 144 should be distributed between the Centre and the Provinces. Another instiution was created under the Constitution, namely the National Economic Council, consisting again of the representatives of the Central and the Provincial Government to recommend from time to time how the proceeds of the taxes mentioned in Article 144 should be distributed between the Centre and the Provinces. The Government of President Ayub has taken some very bold and determined steps to remove economic disparity between East and West Pakistan. The role of the Auditor-General, the Supreme Court and the Election Commission as that of connecting links between the two provinces.

In the event of a conflict between the Governor of a province and the Provincial Assembly, it is the duty of the National Assembly to resolve it. Finally under Article 30, the President of Pakistan can issue a Proclamation of Emergency if he is satisfied that a grave emergency exists.

CIVIL SERVICE OF PAKISTAN

Perhaps the most important practical instrument of the Central will in the provinces is the bureaucratic device called the Civil Service of Pakistan (C.S.P.) and the Police Service of Pakistan (the P.S.P.). The C.S.P. controls almost all the key positions in the Civil posts. The P.S.P. occupies all the key posts in the police. The officers of the C.S.P. and the P.S.P. are recruited and trained by the Central Government. They are subject to the disciplinary control of the Central Government. The C.S.P. men are liable to transfer from one province to the other and the Centre.

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

What is generally referred to in Pakistan as the Central Government is the executive arm of the Government of Pakistan. As we have seen, the President of Pakistan is not only the Head of the State, he is also the Chief Executive of the country, who is assisted by his Council of Ministers, a Secretriat and a number of organisations in implementing the laws of the Central Legislature, the orders and decisions of the Supreme Court, and the policies of the central executive.

The Central Secretariat is divided into two sections : the Ministries of the Central Government and the President's Secretariat. In effect the President is also the Minister of the Departments working under the President's Secretariat.

The basic unit of Secretariat organisation in Pakistan is a Division. Divisions are grouped and regrouped to form Ministeries. Divisions are not always unchangeable and have grown in number after independence. The Divisions have under them, various attached Departments and subordinate offices. Divisions make administrative and political policies relating to Departments, and all Departments must approach the Central Cabinet through the Divisions concerned.

Every Ministry is headed by a Minister and a permanent

Secretary. Quite often a Ministry may consist of only one Division. Each Divisions in the President's Secretariat is headed by a Secretary who works directly under the President. Occasionally a Division may be headed by a Joint Secretary.

Basic units of Divisions are sections. Sections are grouped to work under a Deputy Secretary. Deputy Secretaries are grouped to work either directly under a Secretary or a Joint Secretary. All Joint Secretaries have access to their Ministers in respect of their subject matters. However, the cases of personnel administration, finances and political policies must be processed through the Secretary. Higher Secretariat staff consists of the Section Officer, the Deputy Secretary, the Joint Secretary and the Secretary. They are all Class I officers.

ATTACHED DEPARTMENTS

Having laid down the policy, the Secretariat Divisions are expected to leave the execution to the attached Departments or the subordinate Offices. It is only when a question of policy is involved that the Central Secretariat again comes into the picture.

Attached Departments vary greatly in size, importance, and powers. There are Attached Departments which are headed by officials having the status of a full Secretary and others headed by officials equal in rank to a Deputy Secretary.

Although the nomenclatures vary, a typical attached Department is likely to have at its head a Director-General or a Chief Administrator. They have considerable freedom of action and adequate financial powers.

SUBORDINATE OFFICES

Compared to Attached Departments, subordinates offices work under the control of the Ministry. Matters of personnel administration, fixation of pay, enhanced increments, transfers, promotions and financial sanctions are controlled by the Ministry. Subordinate offices are usually headed by officers of the rank and status lower than that of the Secretary to the Government.

GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS

In addition to the attached Departments and subordinate offices, Government has created a number of corporations. Corporations vary in size, financial resources, type of activities and leadership. Some bigger corporations enjoy the status and prestige of attached Departments. Some are headed by men who enjoy status higher than that of the Secretary. Government Corporations have been created either to undertake sensitive commercial operations (as Oil and Gas), or to step in where private enterprise has been shy (as House Building), or to step up an activity which did not show required promise within the Government Departments (as Water and Power).

Broadly speaking, a distinction is maintained between Government Corporations, statutory authority and autonomous bodies. Government Corporations are considered essential agencies carrying on commercial operations. Their efficiency is measured in terms of profits. On the other hand, autonomous bodies are organisations wholly or partly financed by the Government, having representatives of the Government operating through a Board of Directors which is independent of the control of the Central Government in all matters relating to personnel administration, financial control, but is guided by the Government in relation to its policies.

A statutory authority is an institution created under a statute, and is independent of the control of the executive. Its actions are liable to be subjected to scrutiny by the legislature or by the President but not by the executive, as a rule.

It may be added that these distinctions are fairly flexible and open to question, but they do indicate a basis for working out refinements in concepts and definitions.

PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE

The Executive Government of the provinces is headed by a Government who is appointed by the President and is not responsible to the local legislature.

The Governor is assisted by a council of Ministers who are appointed with the approval of the President.

There is no name for the basic unit of a provincial Secretariat organisation. Loosely the word "subject" is used in place of division. Subjects are grouped under the Department (called a Ministry in the Central Government) and each Government is headed by a Minister.

REGIONAL DIVISIONS

For purposes of the administration of revenue, elections, maintenance of law and order, judicial administration, and political control, the provinces are divided into areas called Divisions and Districts. Below the District in East Pakistan and in the former provinces of Sind and Frontier (now united as one West Pakistan Province) there are sub-divisions. But the Divisions of Rawalpindi, Lahore and Multan do not have such sub-divisions. Then there are below the sub-divisional level, Tehsils in West Pakistan. No Tehsils exist in East Pakistan. Below the Tehsil, are Thanas or police stations. Although in West Pakistan they are purely a unit of police administration, in East Pakistan the Thana boundary is also used for local Government and for purposes of development administration.

While every Department of the Provincial Government operates through the attached Department in the Divisions, Districts and lower formations, the local administration of the Division and the District tries to co-ordinate the activities of all Government Departments operating in the area. A conflict arises between the Provincial Departments and the local administration when both of them try to control the Depart-

Continued on page 124

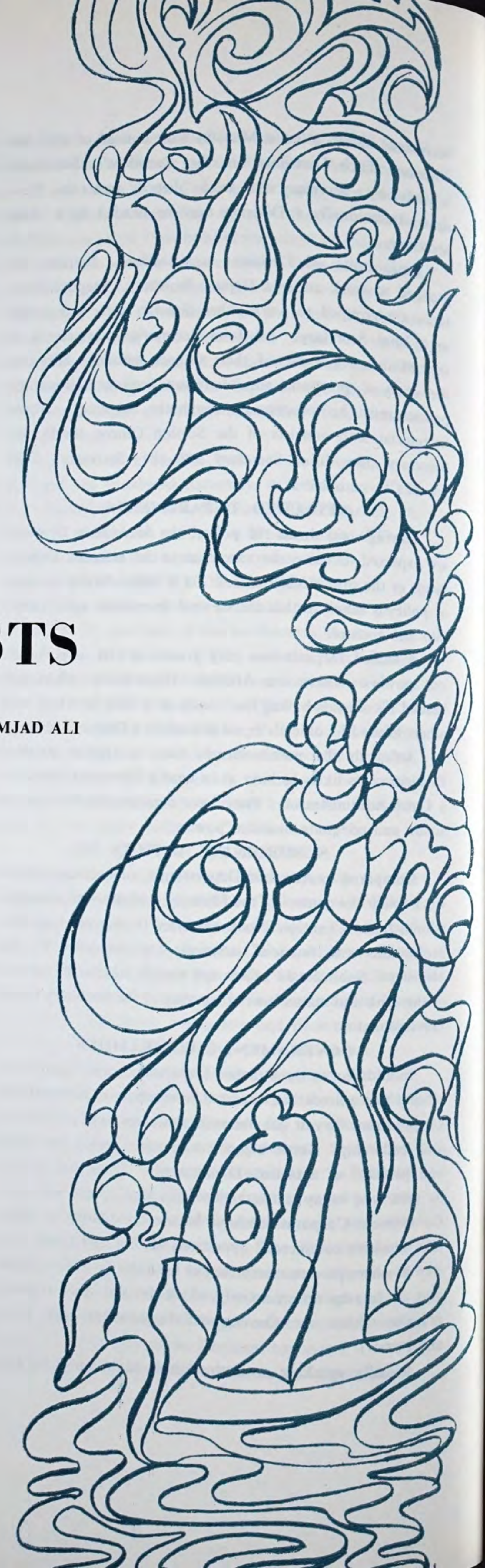
DACCA ARTISTS

S. AMJAD ALI

At the apex of the delta of the Ganges, between the arms of the Buri Ganga and the Sita Lakha, where the river flows burdened with the spoil and debris of two thousand miles, lies the old city of Dacca. Here, in this capital of East Pakistan, has flowered during the last eighteen years, a movement in the pictorial and graphic arts whose exponents have already captured worldwide attention and who are undoubtedly attracting to themselves ever increasing interest and, indeed, fame.

The nursery of these remarkable people is the College of Arts and Crafts, housed in a red-brick building by Ramna Green. Beginning in 1948, with a modest half-dozen students, its reputation has steadily grown under the guidance of Zainul Abedin, himself a celebrated artist and a dedicated teacher. With him, a band of highly gifted men, artists in their own right, who have themselves achieved world-wide recognition, are using their gifts and experience to train and mature the undoubted ability of their versatile pupils who, in contemporary styles and media, are producing work of great originality and artistic worth.

It is this small band constituting a nodal point in contemporary art, whose impact is being internationally felt, but before we go on to consider who they are and what they are doing, something should be said of the rich and fecund



background to which much of their inspiration is owed. These men have not been thrown up by mere chance nor do they form an isolated phenomenon. They are simply in the van of an emerging line of younger workers who express themselves with astonishing ease and facility in oils, water-colour, lithographs wood-cuts, and silk-screen prints.

Let it not be thought, however, that these are merely cunning artificers of the curious, or facile adapters of the commonplace in folk art. This writer had recently the opportunity to see an exhibition of graphic arts at a private gallery in Dacca called *Arts Ensemble*. Here, not a single senior artist was represented and yet the whole formed a most convincing array of talent, whether it be the straightforward realism in the wood-cuts of Profula Roy and Ranjit Neogi, the delightful abstractions of Nitul Kundu's silk-screen prints or the pure doodling of A. Matin—*ars est celare artem*, we cannot abstain from quoting here.

Astonishing it may all be and yet why so? It is probable that nowhere in the world will there be found a greater profusion of folk art than in East Pakistan, a rich inheritance that owes itself to an innate public appreciation that the centuries cannot wither. Consider, for instance, the fascinating and traditional *Lokhir Shara*, earthen plates painted over in oil colours. In the big country fairs of Jessore, Mymensingh, Faridpur and Comilla, you will see the *patua*, or folk painter, set up his stall with heaps of plain earthen plates and a generous supply of colours. A client comes and gives his own subject, usually selecting some familiar and much loved folk legend. The painter there and then paints the round picture, using the time-honoured conventions of his art to render men, animals, trees and other objects. With genuine artistic skill, he distributes the design so as to fill the given space, elongating here, exaggerating there and balancing the whole with unerring hand.

All over the countryside, wandering showmen pass by, carrying boxes which contain scrolls of pictures and provide peep-shows for the village children. The pictures for these ancient forms of the cinema are executed by craftsmen whose skill is hereditary.

There are other, and perhaps more utilitarian forms of skill as, for instance, the painted bowls of Rajshahi District in which bold and attractive patterns, using bird, animal and fish *motifs*, are set upon a characteristic yellow ground. Embriodery is another such common form of artistic creation in which elaborate pictures are sometimes contrived. The kaleidoscopic designs rendered on the *kantha* (or quilt) are fascinating in their variety and colour and are greatly admired. The better examples are collector's items, eagerly sought for their craftsmanship, ingenuity and taste.

There can be no finer nor more enduring school for the development of artistic genius than that which is rooted in the soil and in the hearts of the people. It is not surprising that talent of a high order has insensibly been nurtured. Nor is it surprising that those who have been so liberally endowed out of this inheritance should display a remarkable explorative energy and immense power of assimilation, making other idioms very much their own, or that these gifted people proceed further to put the stamp of their own personality on all that they imbibe, producing work that not only bears comparison with anything done elsewhere, but confidently submit itself to the inexorable standards of authentic art.

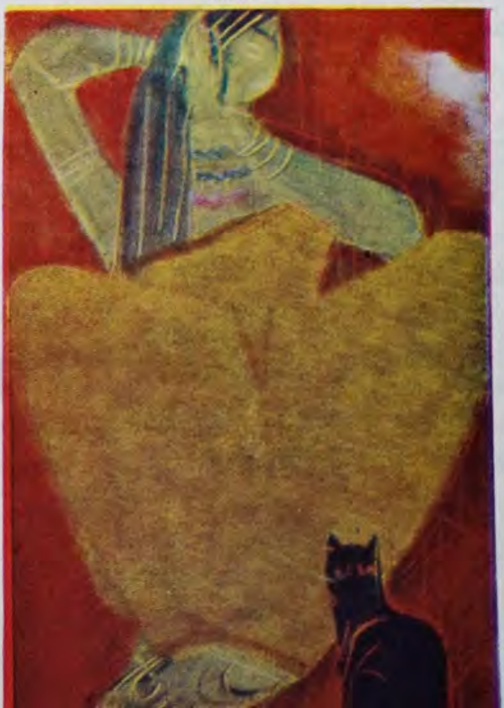
ABEDIN

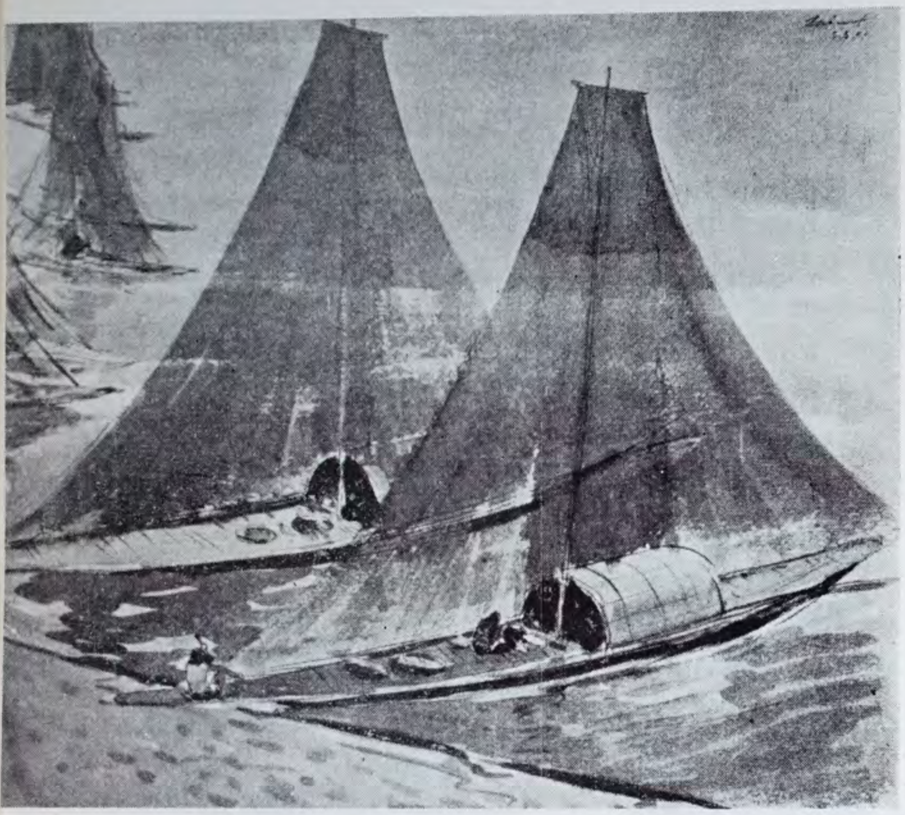
Born 1914 in Mymensingh District, East Pakistan, Diploma in Fine Arts from the GovernmentSchool of Arts, Calcutta, Principal of College of Arts and Crafts, Dacca, work represented in Cincinnati Museum of Arts, San Francisco Museum of Arts, National Museum of Brussels, winner of President's Award and "Hilal-e-Imtiaz".

Zainul Abedin cannot be said to have given the gift of artistic expression to the younger artists, but he has certainly done much to nurture and develop it. His whole life, after the establishment of Pakistan, has been devoted to the building up of the Arts College, even at the sacrifice of his own creative work. No wonder he is loved and respected, almost as a father, by the younger artists, who are all his pupils.

Tall and big boned but not corpulent, he has the dark and rugged features of the peasant whom he dearly loves, but the moment he speaks to you, his face lights up with a smile and you know you are in the presence of an artist. Without being loudly demonstrative, he will convey real warmth and friendship with his deep gaze and the intimate tone of his whispered words and occasional bursts of laughter. His casual dress and relaxed manner puts everyone at ease, and his serene self-confidence bespeaks a man who is widely travelled and has seen much.

Toilet





Sail Boats (Water colour)

The dry brush or charcoal sketches of the Bengal famine he did in 1943 moved the conscience of the world and established his reputation. In these bare, black lines were recreated the sorrow and suffering of three million people whose emaciated bodies and twisted corpses lay scattered all over Bengal. While, on the one hand, these sketches bore testimony to the wide-awake social conscience of the artist and his deep love for his people, they also showed his powerful drawing and that utter economy of means which comes with complete mastery.

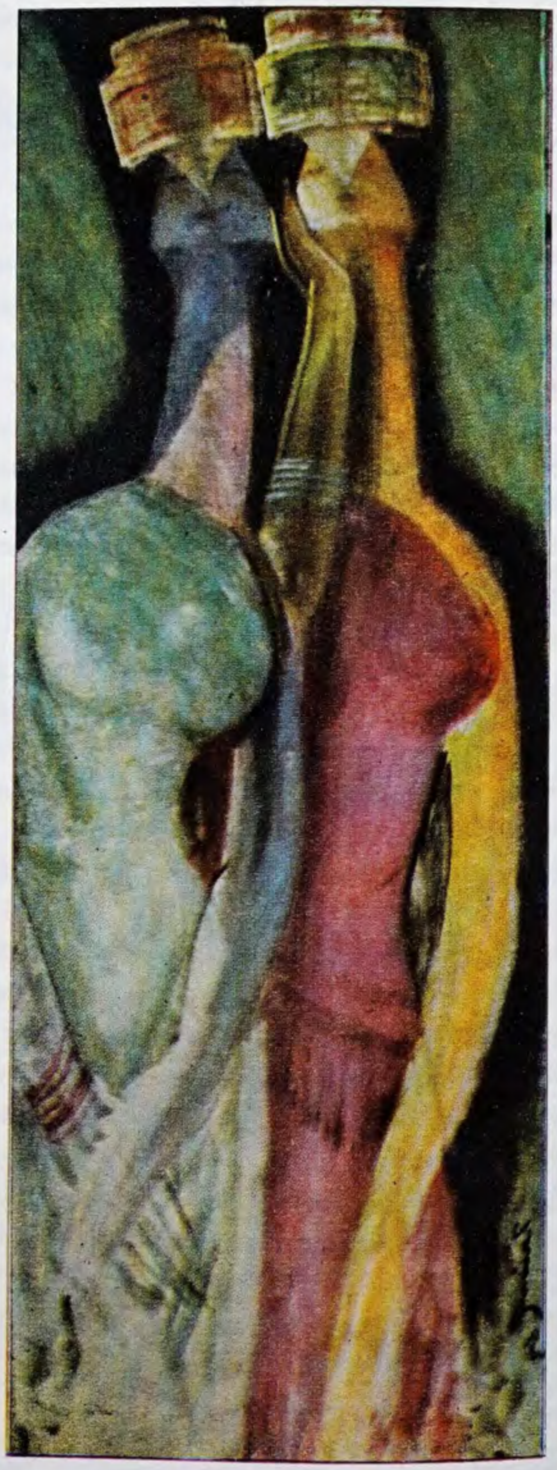
The paintings that he did after Independence in 1947 continued to show these basic qualities, for they, too, partook of the nature of drawings, marked as they were by the use of thick black lines to delineate the subject, while his deep attachment to his people was evinced by the choice of subject, always drawn from daily rural life—ploughing the fields, carting hay, hauling boats, or singing and dancing.

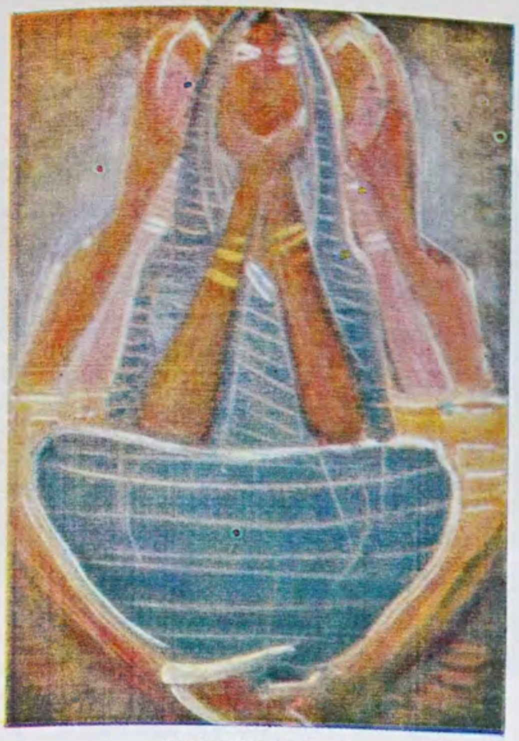
Even in the most simple drawing, his Oriental sense of design directs the rhythm of each stroke and balances one against the other. His placement of the figures and distribution of areas further weaves them into a pattern and accentuates the element of design.

He is fond of painting scenes of powerful action, in which the straining muscles of men or animals provide a natural rhythm of line. Similarly, his fondness for dance subjects or dance postures stems from this same love. It is not correct to generalise too much on this point, for he is eclectic in his choice of subjects, and as often depicts scenes of repose as scenes of action. But his free sweeping linear strokes suggest a swishing switch of bamboo, while the simple unobstrusive over-all design binds together these rhythmic lines in a way that has a marked emotional tone.

His preoccupation is primarily with linear harmonies, and the corporeal aspect, or mass, is never much developed. Though even his brushed in lines, now thick, now thin, are enough to suggest third dimensional effects, and his colours build up the masses to some extent, the forms in his painting retain a certain lightness and airy quality that is in the age-old tradition of the East.

Snake charmers (oils)

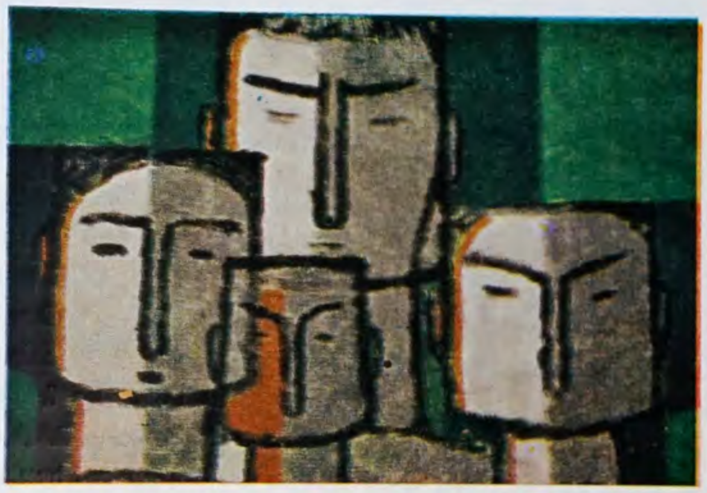




Sitting Pretty (*oils*)

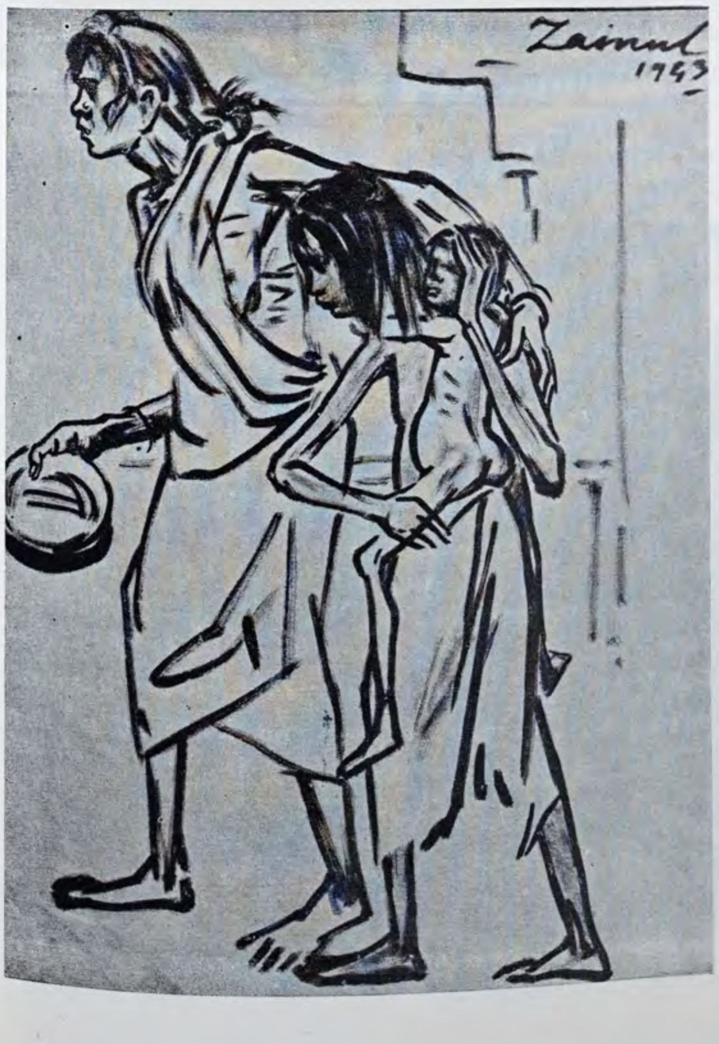
Zainul Abedin is in love with his land and his people, and he has not the heart to break his attachment to the soil in order to embark upon the featureless sea of abstract art. His many journeys abroad, and the puzzling sight of almost all his old pupils abandoning figurative painting to a lesser or greater degree, made him ponder and reset his course. He perhaps realised that straight-forward depiction of figures and objects did not arouse in the mind of the viewer that wondering recognition of reality which it should do, if the artist has been able to lift the veil from the familiar and tired face of things. A certain tilting and turning of the forms was essential to show up their distinctive character.

This could be done in the Cubist way, or in any one of the other major styles developed in Europe during these last hundred years, but Abedin realised that they could not speak to the heart of his countrymen, because the feelings of the people had not been educated through all the stages that have led to modern European styles. He wanted, above all, to establish rapport with the people and, to that end, he decided to draw upon the rich resources of folk art and the astonishing artistic conventions they had developed to achieve powerful expression. Had not Leger picked up the interesting trick used in Kalighat paintings, of framing the bare contours of a drawing with thick brush strokes in colour on the outside, imparting wonderful depth and weight to the forms, as Archer has pointed out? Abedin also used the familiar repertoire of folk art and supplemented it with his own study of modern Western art, to explore shyly a new world of beauty. This emerged in his highly stylized and abstracted paintings, showing women with elongated necks and supple figures bent into long arcs, or seated squatly, making a triangle, and with the barest hints of human features, so subordinated are they to the demands of design. Simply the broad areas of the figures are outlined and differentiated by means of line work or colour, so as to play one area against the other. Most of this experimental work was done at first in the form of small water-colour sketches and only a few of these have been worked up into oil paintings, but even these few are enough to show the direction in which he is moving.



Four-square (*oil*)

His greatest triumphs, so far, have been won in the realm of frankly figurative work. He has been able to load it with enough abstract artistic qualities—for these qualities are always abstract—to be able to win the enthusiastic attention of the most modern taste. Thus his beautiful water colour *Boats* is a work of this type. The picture obviously depicts certain seen objects, in which the hulls of two boats are diagonally placed one behind the other, and similarly are placed



Walking Spectre (*dry brush*)

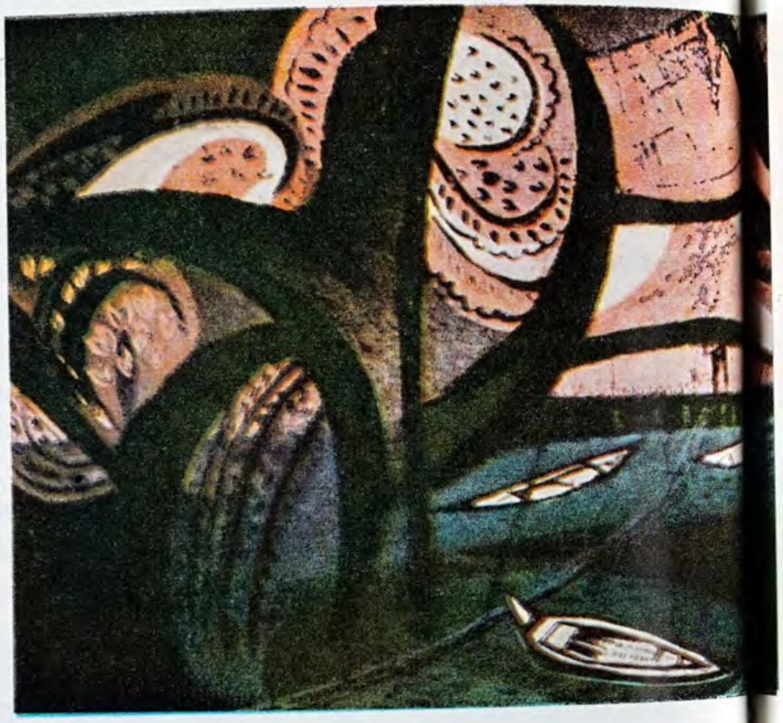
the slightly overlapping shapes of the huge triangular sails that rise above the boats. The sheer placement of these shapes in the picture area sets up internal rhythms of form-relationship that lift the bare facts of the scene into the realm of abstract beauty. Above all, the beauty of the water-colour medium is exploited to the utmost, in full easy strokes that trail the transparent web of colour over the thick grained paper, leaving white textural effects to delight the eye. No wonder it was sought after by art collectors and finally was chosen by the Duke of Edinburgh when he saw this picture in Dacca and later met the artist.

SAFIUDDIN

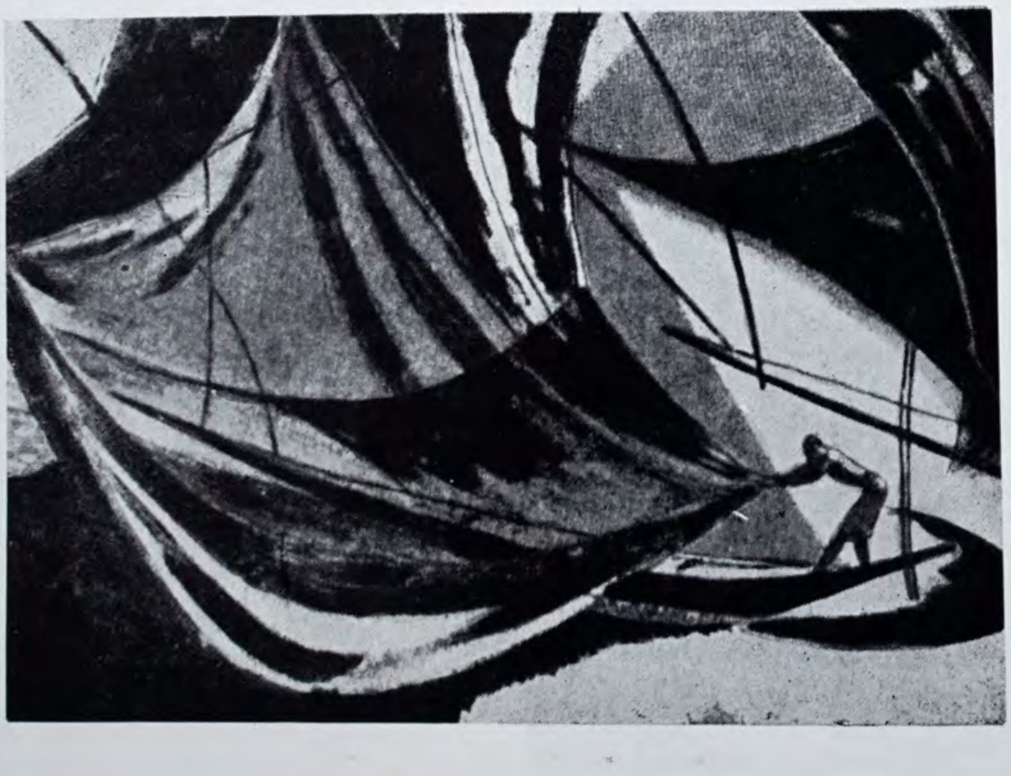
Born 1922, *Diploma in Fine Arts from the Government School of Arts, Calcutta, and Diploma in Etching and Engraving from the Central School of Arts and Crafts, London, Professor of Graphic Arts at College of Arts and Crafts, Dacca, won President's Award*

Zainul Abedin has become something of a celebrity, with his personal contacts with heads of governments, and friendly relations with the world's leading artists. But there are other artists in Dacca who are equally talented though not half so well-known. Senior most among them is tall, refined-looking, and shy Safiuddin, who is only forty four, but already at twenty two had made his mark by winning the President's Medal at the annual exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts in Calcutta. Next year his paintings were selected for exhibition at the Exposition International D'Art Moderne in Paris, and also at the Contemporary Indian Art Exhibition organized at India House, London. His work also found a place in the memorable and definitive Exhibition of the Art of India and Pakistan (2400 B.C. to 1947) organized by the Royal Academy of Art in London in 1947-48. Later he exhibited in great international exhibitions of graphic arts in Switzerland, London and Japan, where even to be included with the world's best talent is by itself an honour.

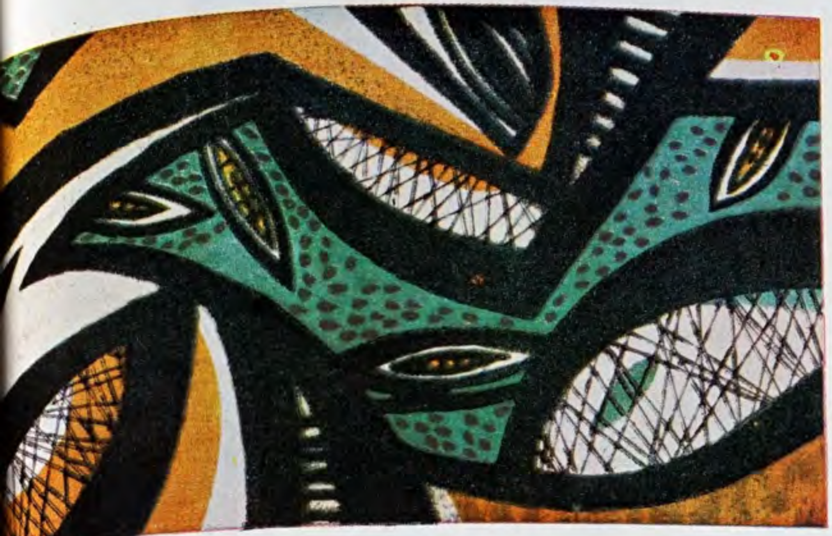
Though famous now for his etchings, he won his first laurels with oil paintings. His work was realistic, but had the rare charm of being utterly simple and remarkably sensitive, based upon a thorough study of the subject. Four small boats lie bobbing on a wide expanse of water, while one or two fishermen sit or stand fishing in them; two almost nude figures of peasants, stand with strands of jute raised above their heads in the act of flinging it down forcefully, to beat against the stone before them; their knees are slightly bent forward and their backs are curved in; behind them lies a heap of golden jute. Delightful studies both, executed in broad patches of colour but so well placed as to suggest the exact and true posture and gesture, the light and shadow boldly indicated in rough but precisely placed strokes. The balance



Receding Flood (Aquatint)



Fishing Time (etching)



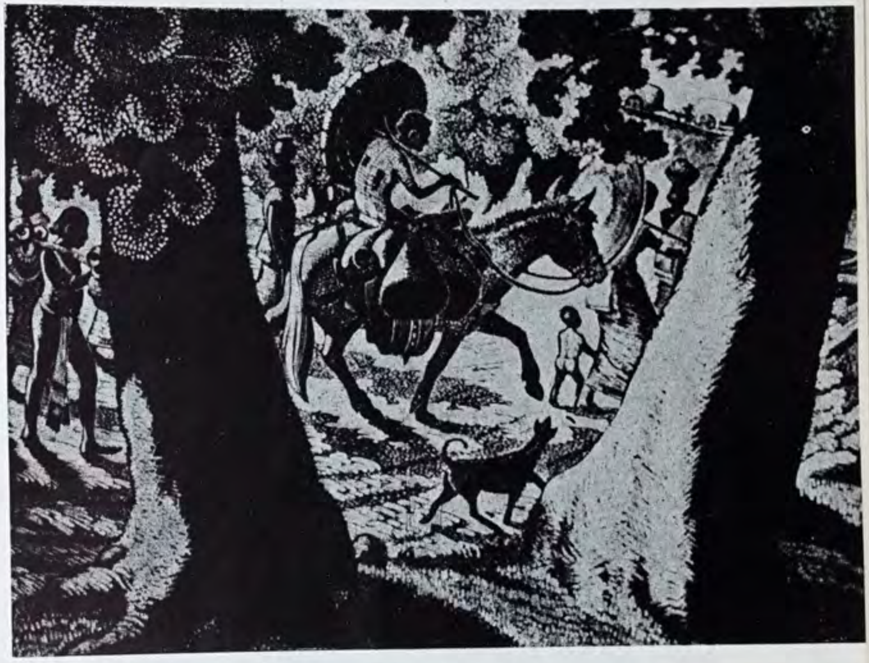
Stranded Boats

is so perfect that the scene seems to float and swim, a sure sign of true artistic beauty in contrast with a prosaic and heavily literal rendering.

Even in those early days, however, his heart was in the graphic arts, particularly woodcut. Two of his early woodcuts *Santhal Maiden* and *Way Through the Jungle* are very popular. The first shows a woman filling a pitcher of water from a pool, and another standing with a pitcher on her head, slightly bent and glancing round at her companion. Though there is an obviously decorative intent in the rendering of the female figures, equally charming is the study of the pool of water and the reflections in it. The other painting shows village folk wending their way to the market through the woods. Framed in the centre between two thick tree trunks is an old man with an umbrella riding a pony, while a little dog trots along barking at the crowd. It is a charming glimpse of rural life, dramatically composed so as to exploit to the full the contrasts of light and shade.

All this Safiuddin has left behind now. For a few years before 1958, when he left for advanced studies in Graphic Arts at the Central School of Art in London, he had been in the doldrums, producing very little work, and only pondering the course he was to take in the future. He was also soaking in all the experience of life around him, particularly the nightmare of the flood of 1958, that came shortly before he was to go abroad. Imprisoned in his home, and precariously perched on a cot while the flood waters streamed in and out, he lived a basic truth and fact of Bengal life and landscape. Under dark and leaden skies, as he sat gazing absent-mindedly at the swirling waters below him, he felt as if he could almost read the fearful hieroglyphs of the mysterious demon. The fierce currents of water, and the layer under layer of streaming, swirling lines, made up a strange symbolic language in which the flood seemed to speak. These, and other images of wasted river banks, and floating hulks of uprooted trees, and the desolate slimy aftermath of receding floods, he carried in his head when he went abroad to acquire the latest developments in the technique of etching.

In London, he toiled night and day to learn all he could from able teachers and from the displayed work of leading masters. When, towards the end, he embarked upon original creative work, the moving experiences of the recent flood came back to him, to be distilled in beautiful and meaningful abstract forms. They were not abstract in the sense of being purely conceptual and out of this world, for they were of the essence of the flood, and almost the actual lineaments of its fearful face.



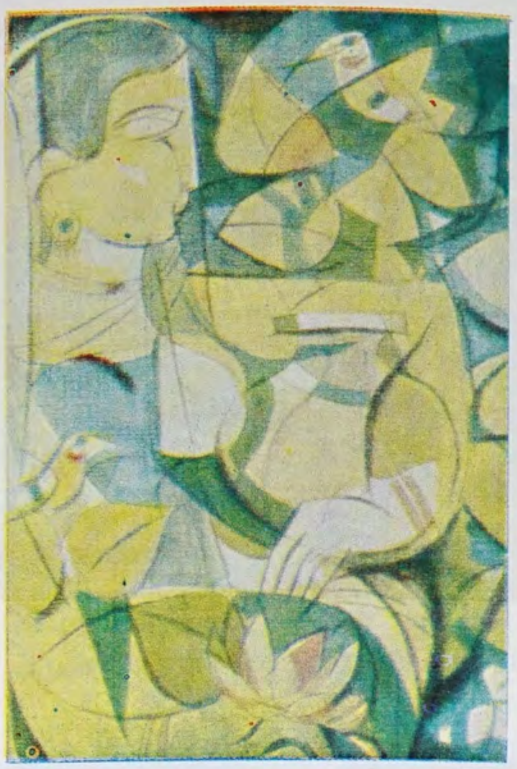
Way through the Woods (Woodcut)

With this as his theme, he executed a series of outstanding etchings that have become famous. The unerring flow of his reeling lines, executed directly on the copper plate in one stroke, command admiration. The subtle etching of his dark areas, which produces such a corpuscular and velvety black, deserves all the praise it has received from those who know that black areas in an etching can so easily become solid, dead and inert. The number of grey tones he can build up side by side, from white to black, is a tribute to his technical skill and his subtle, sensitive artistry.

There is a peculiar pent-up emotional force in the thick black lines or looming forms, as they contrast with the subtle tracery of the subordinate areas within that bold and dominating framework. Sometimes the lines swing in alternate curves round an axis, suggesting directly the force of swirling waters;

sometimes they are arranged in a more reposeful balance, but carrying the same suggestion of force, held in reserve.

Many realistic images creep into the design, as boats and sails, many traditional motifs also, as the paisley and the heart shape, while even the abstract arcs and curves that are drawn from observed facts, have an indigenous quality about them because they are reminiscent of folk art in a distant way. But it has none of the slapdash quality of folk art, being extremely carefully planned and executed, eschewing all superfluities, and retaining only the telling features, in which every dot and dash matters. It is somewhat de-humanized because utterly denuded of human forms, but that perhaps is part of the scheme to emphasise the desolation sought to be depicted. In any case, it is a true reflection of the aloof and reserved nature of the artist. But deeply emotional quality it has in abundance, and the spirit of man finds expression here on another plane.



Birds

QUAMRUL HASAN

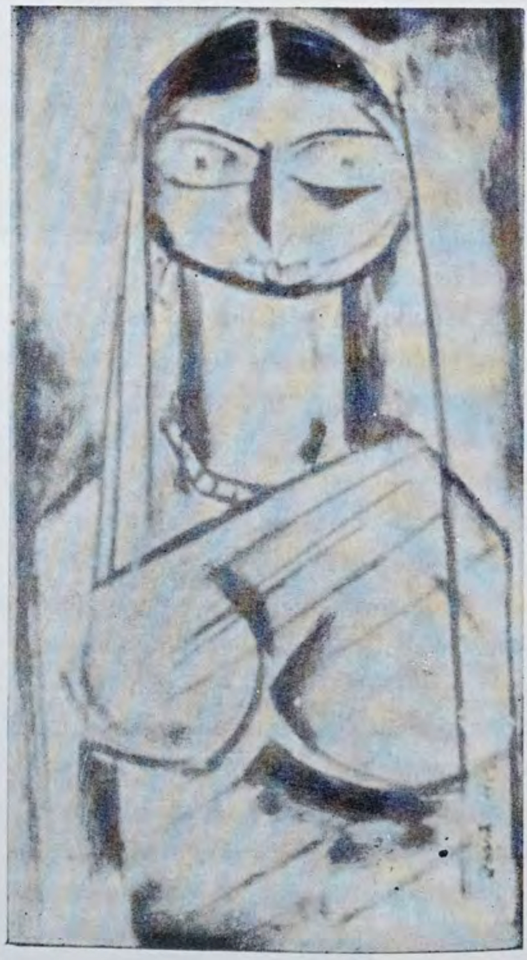
Born 1921 *at Calcutta, Diploma in Fine Arts from Government School of Arts and Crafts, Calcutta, taught at Government Institute of Art, Dacca* 1948-60, *now Chief Designer of Design Centre, Dacca*

A very different personality is that of artist Quamrul Hasan, now Chief Designer at the Design Centre in Dacca. A sturdy, stocky man of medium height, he has a big broad face, but soft features and affable manners. As he takes you through the large spacious rooms of his Design Centre, still under construction, he speaks with obvious enthusiasm of the varied folk arts of East Pakistan, examples of which he shows you with illuminating comments. His work is to study the designs of ceramics, textiles, particularly those made on the handloom, wood carving, silver-ware, and much else, in order to suggest possible improvements and to promote sales.

He is ideally suited for this work because of his natural devotion to folk art, and because of his background of practical experience when, in his younger days, he worked as painter-assistant to a maker of earthen dolls, and as member of a wandering troupe of folk singers and dancers. To hear him speak of the folk arts of East Pakistan, is to delve into an encyclopaedia of this rich and varied subject.

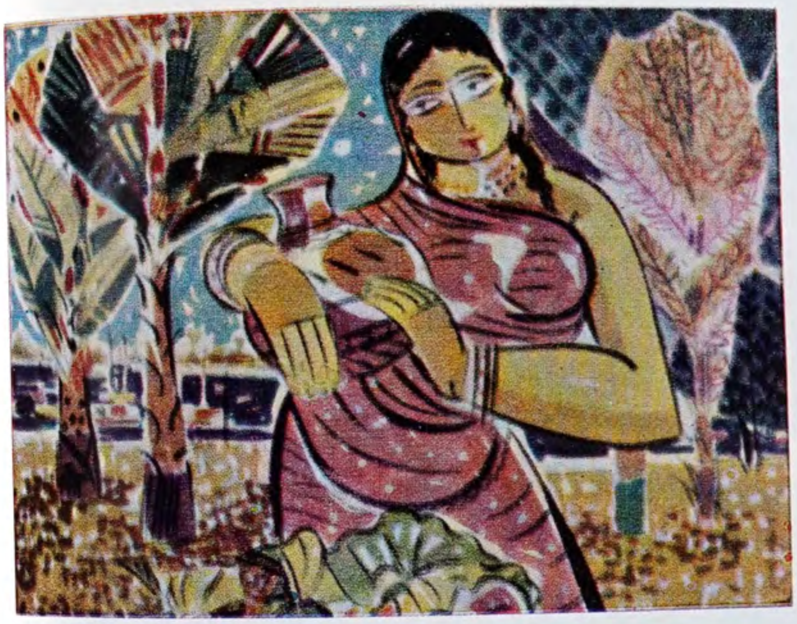
Rapid sketches done with the brush seem to have been his favourite medium for a long time. In them, he adopts not only the style and appearance but also the colours of the folk art painters. The lines have the same verve and dash, the colours are carelessly splashed in the same way, the figures and faces follow an iconography of the same

Vision (*Water colour*)



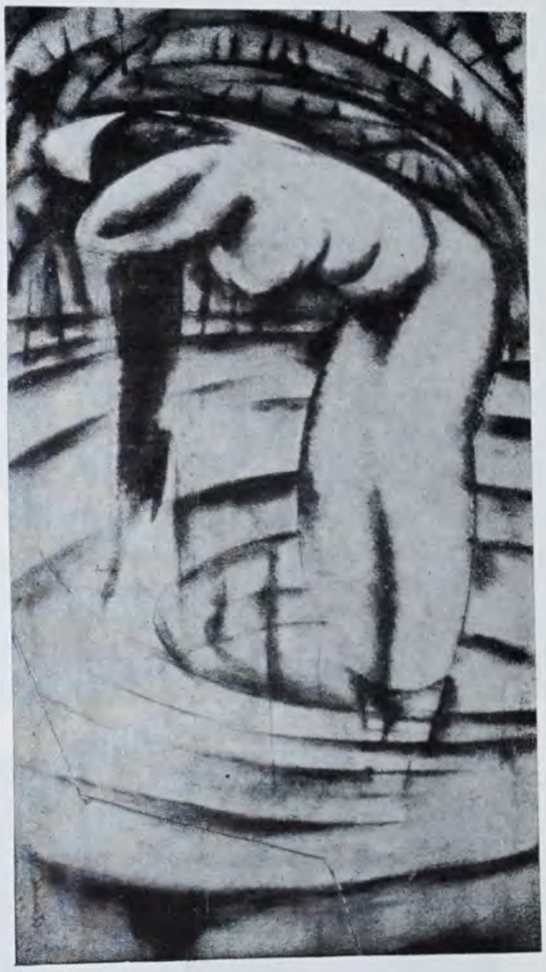
sort, while a profuse use of mustard yellow and Indian red, makes the parallel very close. Of course the work of a highly trained artist is bound to introduce an element of sophistication into the most casually dashed-off work, and so is the case with Quamrul Hasan. Some of his water-colour sketches done in black, such as the three wide-eyed women moving through a banana grove, have a wonderful dramatic quality, produced partly by the theatrical procession of the figures and the simple repetition of their forms, partly by their look of dismay, and partly by the heavy light and shade. The expression of dismay, incidentally, comes from the conventional shape of the eyes, as used in folk paintings. Another sketch shows a woman bending down in a pool to wash her hair, and again the running black colour that richly covers the shaded areas and flows off from the outlines, gives the picture a deeply emotional appeal.

Of greater importance are his more elaborate figure compositions in colour, showing usually one female figure in a domestic setting or against a rural outdoor background. In every case the conventions used to render trees and foliage, or pots and pans, are drawn from the folk tradition, and the colours used are transparent primary colours with a generous use of yellow. Above all he retains the ease and spontaneity of free brush strokes applied in flowing arcs and curves. Thus a local artistic tradition and its alphabet have been preserved and developed to compose greater things. This is of the highest interest at a time when Pakistani artists are drawing upon all kinds of sources from Japan to Europe and America in their search for inspiration and the means of expression.



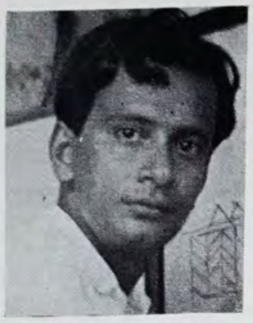
Village Maid (tempera)

At the Village Pond (Water colour)

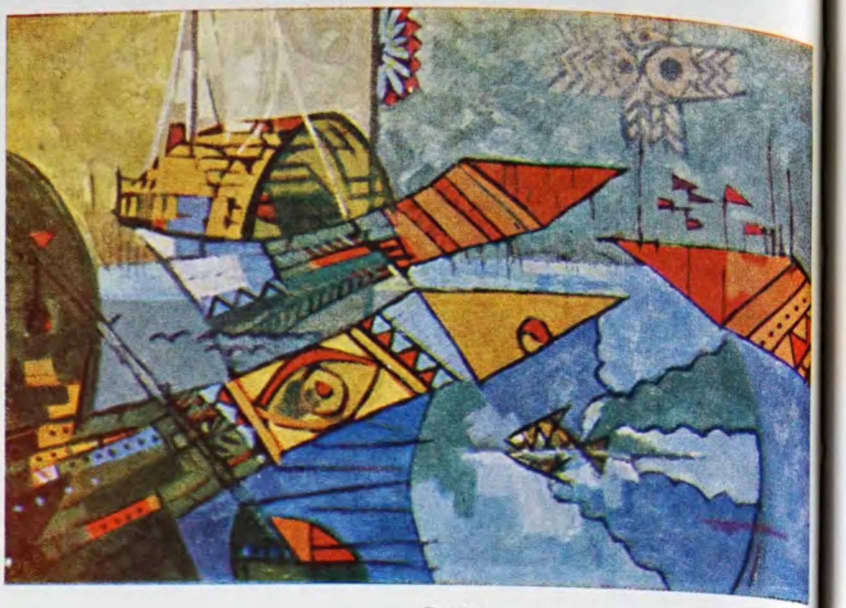


Quamrul Hasan does not attempt anything recondite or esoteric after the manner of so many modern artists, nor is his work too heavily laden with thought. It has the same lucidity and frank joyousness in the face of nature and man, that is the mark of folk art. Even the sophisticated will find here much that will appeal to them, in the abstract qualities of linear pattern and colour harmonies. There is so much feeling expressed in the free flowing lines and there is such sureness and confidence in each stroke, that one cannot but enjoy the work on that plane alone. When, in addition, one gets in these pictures a naive and engagingly primitive picture of the sights and scenes of rural life, the pleasure is heightened.

QAYYUM CHOWDHRY



Born 1934 *at Feni, Noakhali, East Pakistan, Diploma in Fine Arts, Government Institute of Arts, Dacca, (now College)* 1954, *staff artist "Pakistan Observer" daily* 1961-64, *now Lecturer in College of Arts and Crafts, Dacca, won first prize in National Art Exhibition,* 1961



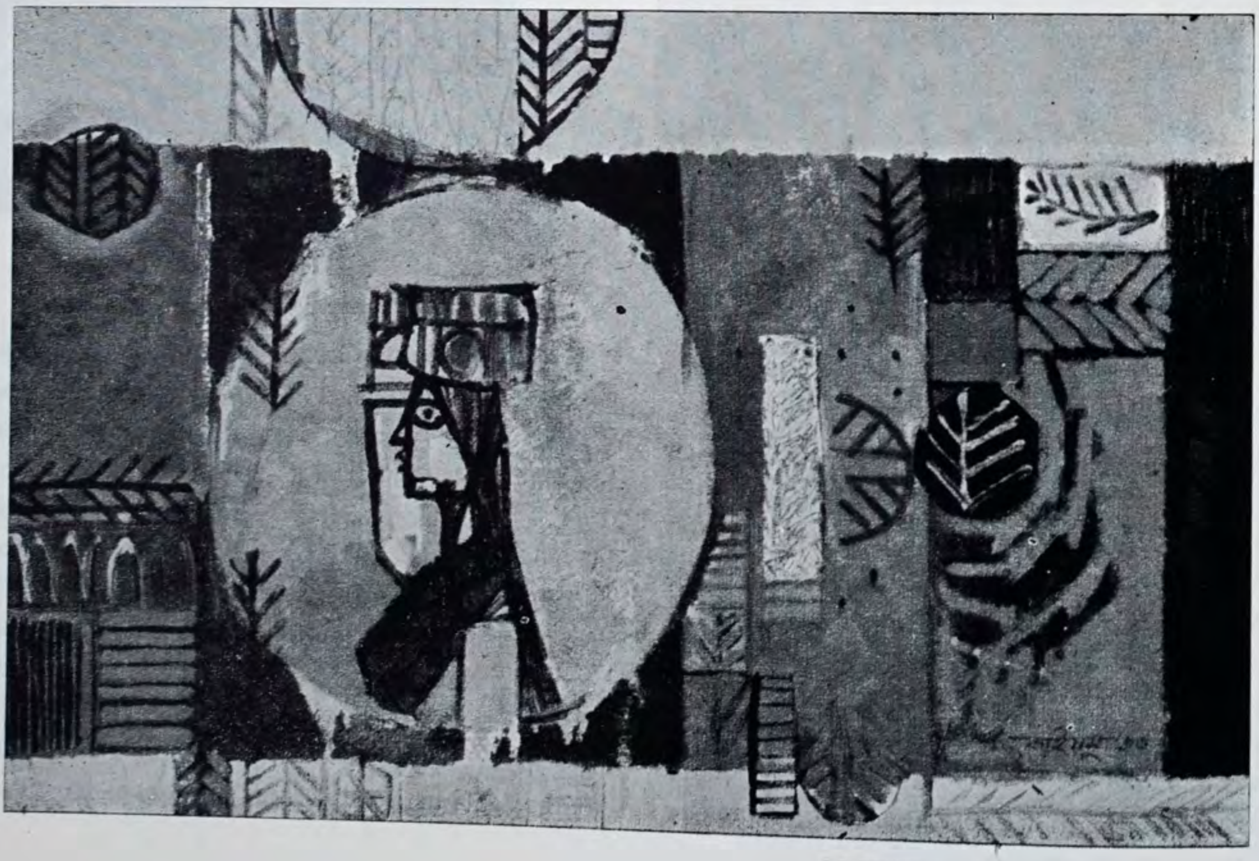
Boats

Moving into the group of younger artists, it is convenient to begin with Qayyum Choudhury, because his work links up with Quamrul Hasan's in the use of the folk tradition. He belongs to the batch, including Baset and Razzaq who passed out of the Arts College in 1955. Besides being a fine artist, he is a very well-read person of considerable literary taste and ability. At present he is working as Lecturer in the College of Arts and Crafts Dacca.

Until recently, he was doing extremely complex work in the Cubist manner, picking out the geometric shapes suggested by objects, and linking them into patterns. Areas of light and shadow and reflection were emphasised more than the outlines of objects to build up this pattern in colour, and the facets of objects were juggled together suggesting a maze of translucent planes as seen in a crystal.

Some of his work in this style achieved a remarkable degree of success, and one, showing an underwater scene, entitled *Bottom* was awarded the first prize in the National Art Exhibition of 1962. It shows nothing but some wavy movements in the water, but is suffused with rich colour, deep greens and blues, representing dazzling lights and deep shadows. An abstract picture of rare beauty has been built up with images drawn from a study of the light and colour effects of deep waters, while the imagination of the artist has

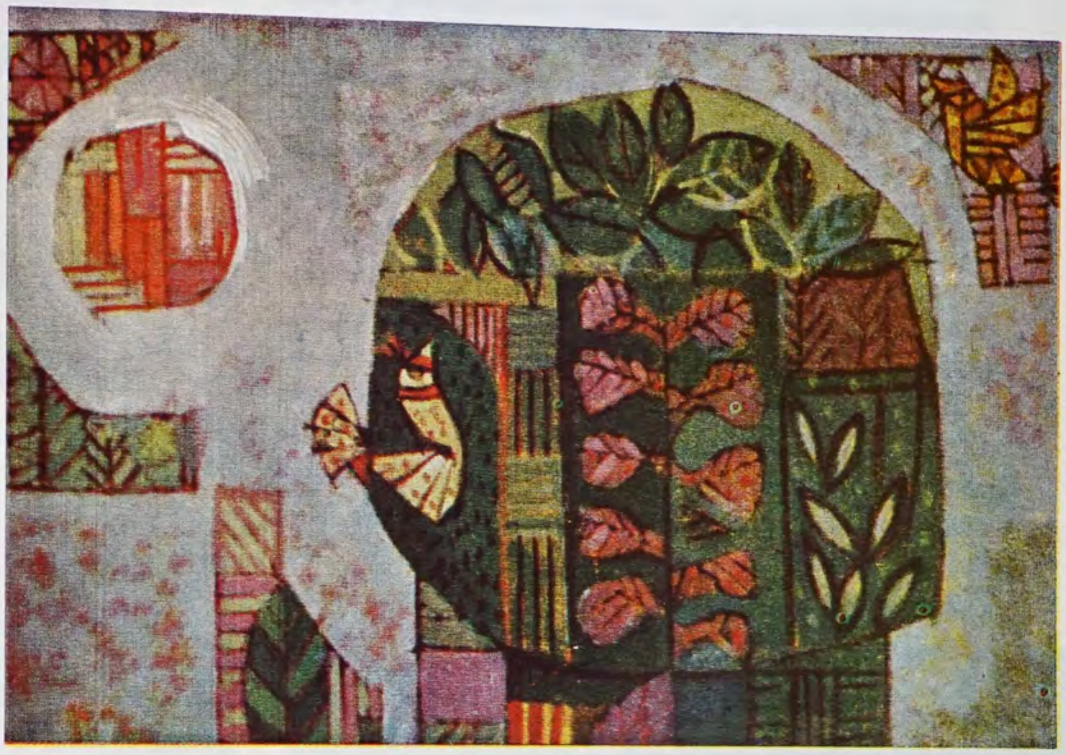
Design and Figure (oils)



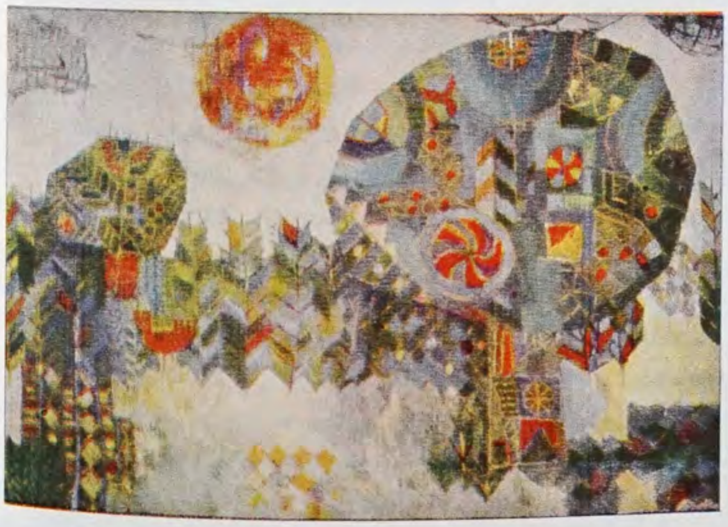
contributed the complex design in which the observed facts become meaningful.

It is interesting to note, however, that Qayyum Choudhury has lately given up this style and embarked upon a new experiment which involves use of the indigenous folk tradition. Gone are the complex designs and the mysterious lights and shadows playing on intangible crystalline forms scarcely recognized. Now he uses simple squares and circles for his broad designs and fills them up with simple decorative patterns derived from Bengali folk art, as the fish bone pattern, or the ear of corn, rosettes, heart shapes, zigzags, hachuring or simply a repetition of parallel lines drawn vertically or horizontally or both. A human or bird or animal form is introduced into the composition as just another element of design, drawn in the rudimentary folk style. The colours that fill the picture are just as arbitrary but so tastefully and imaginatively variegated that the eye travels from detail to detail enticed and fascinated. A tree whose foliage has been represented with such circles and semi-circles, diamond shapes and rosettes, glows like a jewel on the canvas.

Birds and Tree



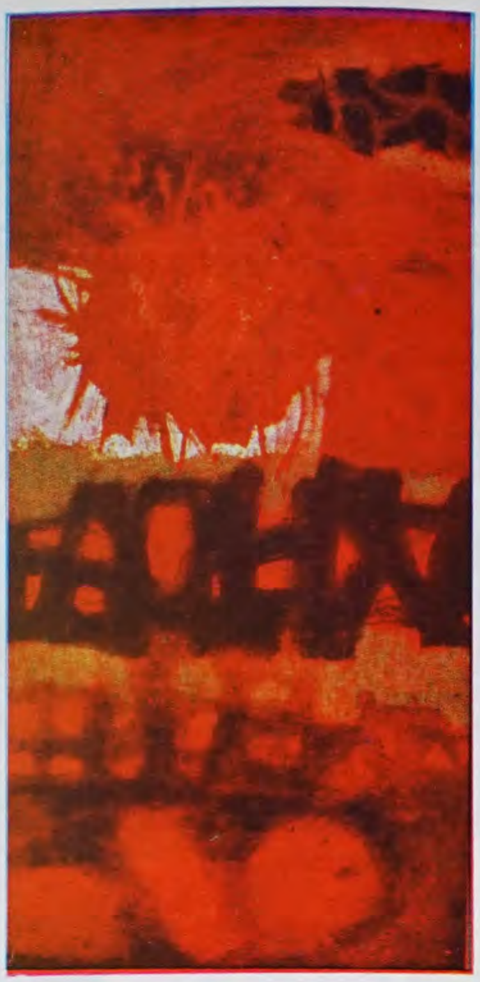
It is abstract art no doubt, but how different, how much richer in associations and emotional content! Qayyum Choudhury has gone a step further in the use of the folk art tradition in East Pakistan art introduced by Quamrul Hasan. While the latter simply represents folk art with some refinement and sophistication of touch and design, the former uses the elements to build something much more magnificent and meaningful. The particular features and colours of his paintings are all familiar and are drawn from indigenous folk art, but the placement and disposition are modern and so are the sensitive colour harmonies. Qayyum Choudhury has certainly shown the way to a fruitful synthesis of local and international art, the traditional and the modern, demonstrating that the deep experiences of modern abstract styles can be captured in the language of the local people, too. Someone may well build up a great and original style on these lines, but meanwhile here is his own work, a genuine and beautiful contribution.



Sun and Flowers

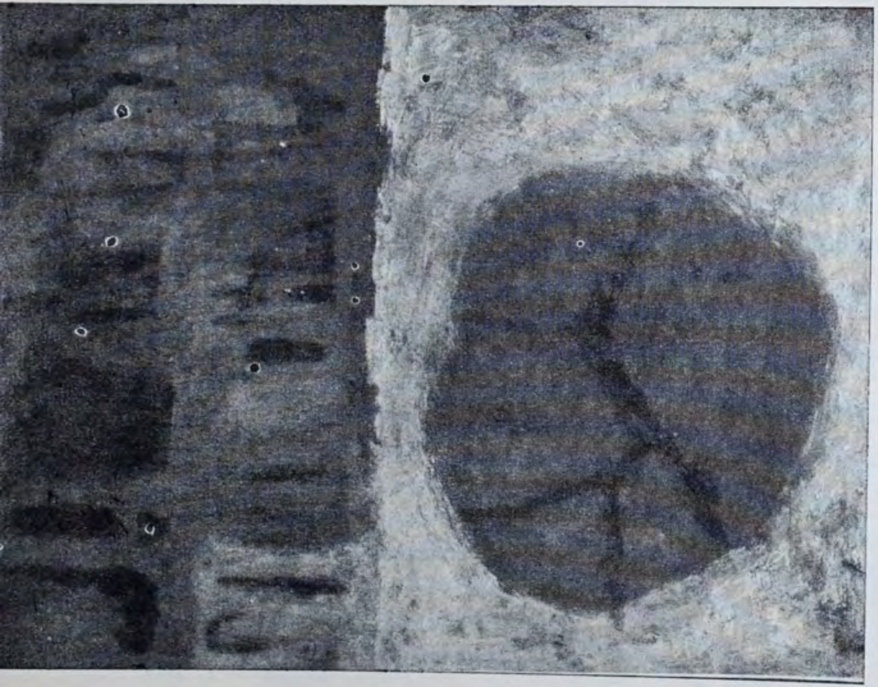
AMINUL ISLAM AND OTHERS

Born Dacca 1931, *Diploma from Institute and Crafts, Dacca,* 1953, *higher study at Academia de Belle Arti and Scoula di Mosaico in Florence,* 1953-56, *Lecturer in Fine Arts at Institute of Arts and Crafts, Dacca, (now College) since* 1956



The Sun

This astonishing level of talent is to be found not in one but in half a dozen young artists of East Pakistan, working in a variety of styles. Like Qayyum Choudhury, Baset and Kibria, Aminul Islam and Bashir, too, picked up with incredible ease the Cubist trick of dividing up forms into geometrical areas and enmeshing them with the background by means of shafts of light playing in and out of the forms. They applied this formula exceedingly well and with real sensitiveness, but it was still an echo and an imitation. They knew it would not take them very far, and one by one they have all given it up to develop some style of their own. Qayyum Choudhury, as described above, is turning to the imagery of folk art. Bashir is making massive monumental heads and figures over areas of canvas treated so as to exploit textural qualities to the full. Kibria has returned after a stay of four years in Japan, having developed a sheer abstract style that owes nothing to geometical form, is far simpler, more elemental and deeply emotional. Aminul Islam, trained in Italy, has advanced from a meticulous though beautiful application of Cubist principles, to a freely expressionist style in which a massive rock-like form in black or red is presented in a plain and simple setting, to suggest some deeply emotional mood or experience.

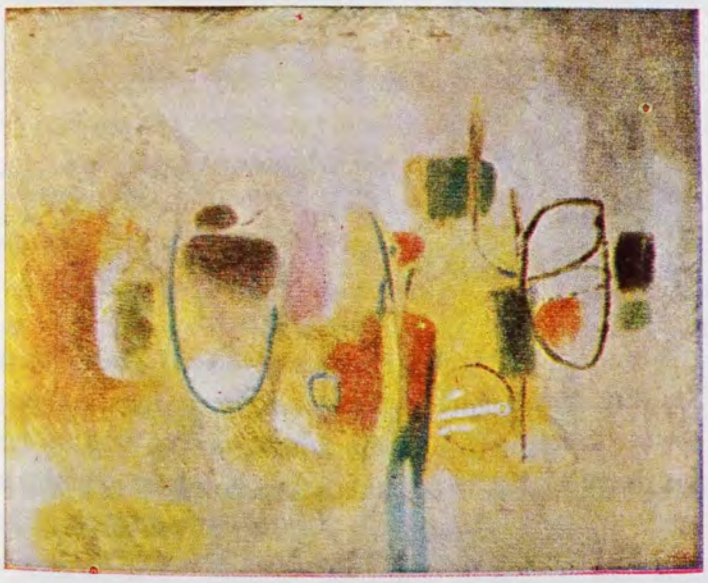


The Orb

The evolution of this artist is worth studying. Born in Dacca in 1931, he graduated from the Dacca Art College in 1953 and later studied in Florence for three years. Some realistic portraits and figure studies of those days bear testimony to his zealous study. Soon, he turned to the Cubist style of dividing up the form and the background into areas, and this was sometimes so rudimentary, as in his *Boats*, that it could be called a gimmick. However the way in which he coloured those divided areas, with dark browns and sepia, light blues and mauves, made the whole painting come alive. The dark areas enclosing the light, produced a fine contrasting effect and a deep emotional quality. This use of strong contrasts is perhaps the distinguishing feature of his work. With it goes a very thorough study of human and animal forms, so that when he marks off the different planes of the neck of a horse into a Cubist pattern, one can see how the surface dips and bulges in actual fact. Then, every line is firmly laid and thickly worked in, so that there is nothing perfunctory about it. In fact, the work gives the impression of being carefully worked out and highly wrought, and to some extent ponderous—in contrast, for example, with the Cubist work of Baset or Kibria or Qayyum Choudhury, which has a more airy and lyrical quality.

But Aminul Islam has moved on from style to style, witness the exposition of ten years of his work held in 1963 at Dacca. Abandoning the figure, Aminul Islam painted pictures in which he simply developed the contrast of light and dark areas, in which lay the main charm of his realistic work. The dark areas enclosing the light were smudged or shaded off to relieve the heavy effect, and similarly the white enclosed areas were filled in with suggestion of springs or flowers to break the monotony and wear the edge of the stark contrast.

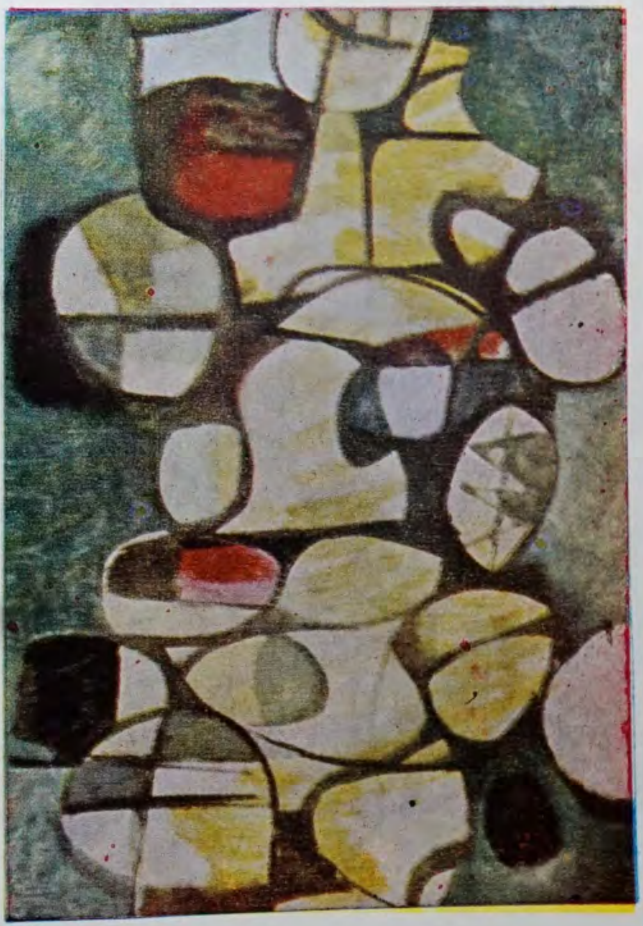
Dawn



During this phase, he devised and used over and over again a rock-like shape or polygon with unequal sides, enclosed by curves and arcs that are most sensitively balanced. Sometimes, he uses this shape to suggest rocks, sometimes the outline of a tree's foliage and, at still other times, simply as an abstract shape enclosed in darker areas or thick outlines. Occasionally, the shape is presented as a dark, black mass standing out on the canvas with, may be, a dark panel of black on one side, out of which it seems to emerge. In such a setting his work takes up a surrealistic and mysterious air. The form, undoubtedly, apart from its obvious beauty, has some strange subconscious significance for the artist, and he avows that it represents for him the striving of nature for perfection, the progress from an amorphous mass to a shape approximating to a circle.

In his latest phase, the rugged contours of his forms are smoothed out, and long ellipses and loops are used that join here and there to create egg-like or cup-like shapes. Simultaneously, he abandons the heavy and dark tones and begins to use light and radiant colours. In some paintings even the rounded form disappears, and we are left with only colourful mists suffused with light and streaked with a few sweeping horizontal lines. The lines converge here and there to make some shape, but mostly they simply contribute a certain movement or vibration to the painting. In contrast to his previous heavy-handed work, this is extremely ethereal and dreamlike creation, but there is consummate artistry in these formless clouds of colour and streaks of line. In a meticulously worked out colour-scheme, a few colours are repeated like notes of music, thus holding the medley together,and the tones are so controlled as to create a definite and consistent space relationship between each area, both laterally and in depth. Thus, even these colourful fantasies do not degenerate into chaotic and confused doodling or splashing, but remain as well planned and disciplined as his earlier work, though not so sombre nor so tight.

Dream Pageant



HAMIDUR RAHMAN

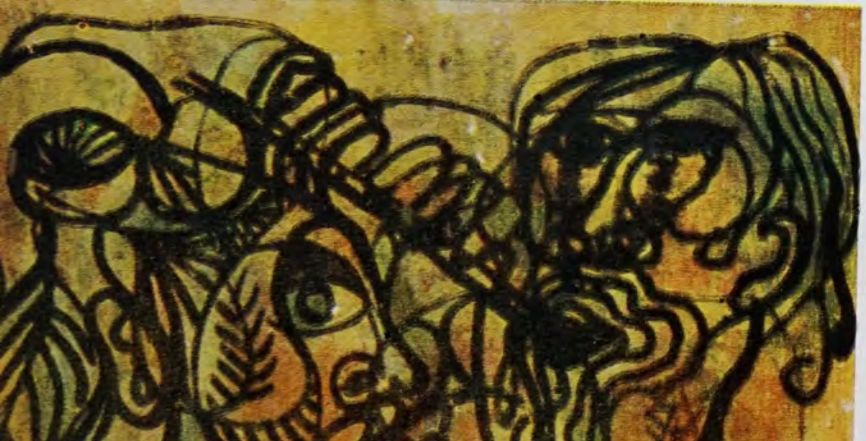
Born 1928, *Diploma from Institute of Arts and Crafts, Dacca,* 1950, *studied at Ecole de Beux Art, Paris,* 1951-52, *and Central School of Arts and Crafts, London* 1952-56, *Academy of Fine Arts Philadelphia,* 1958-59. *Painted many murals in Dacca and Karachi, now Director of Pakistan Art Council's Gallery at Dacca*

Genial and high spirited, Hamidur Rahman is another very gifted artist of this group and perhaps the most distinctly individual of them all. Loud laughing, deep brooding, and high strung as he is in person, so in his art he is the most violently emotional of the group. There is none of that sweetness and light that meet the eye in the work of his compeers.

One of the most highly trained artists of Pakistan, Hamid has studied not only at the Dacca Art College but for two years at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris and at the Central School in London, as also for some time at the Academia di Belle Arti in Florence and at the Pennysylvania Academy of Fine Arts in the U.S.A.

Deeply interested in mural painting, Hamid has executed some of the major murals that are to be found in the public buildings of Dacca and Karachi, for example, the Public Library in Dacca and the State Bank Building in Karachi. In his easel paintings, too, he is drawn naturally towards bold effects and dramatic expression. Since he has a deeply human approach, his themes are always human, and since his object is to show the stress of emotion, he often indulges in great distortion, sometimes resulting in the creation of grotesque shapes but charged with deep passion. The lines drawn by such an artist are bound to be extremely vigorous and even gawky. They do not flow, undulating or elliptical, but have a tense and wiry rhythm of their own. There is method in his madness, and even out of these crude strokes he is able to create harmony. Incidentally, the style also expresses the stress of emotion which is part of his theme. In some of his pictures, the figures are quite carefully drawn, but by their attitudes or some trick of contrasting colour, or some unusual feature, they are given a deeper meaning, a soulful aspect, suggesting high drama or pent-up emotion.

The Flute



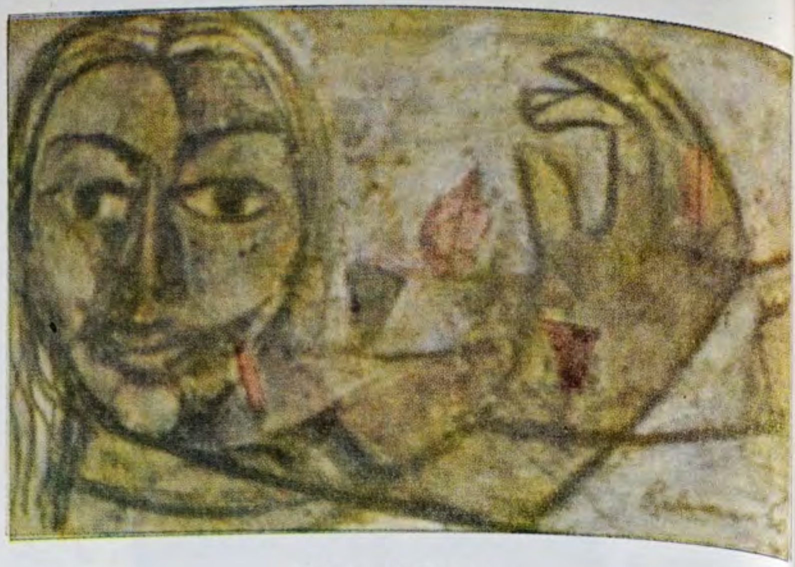


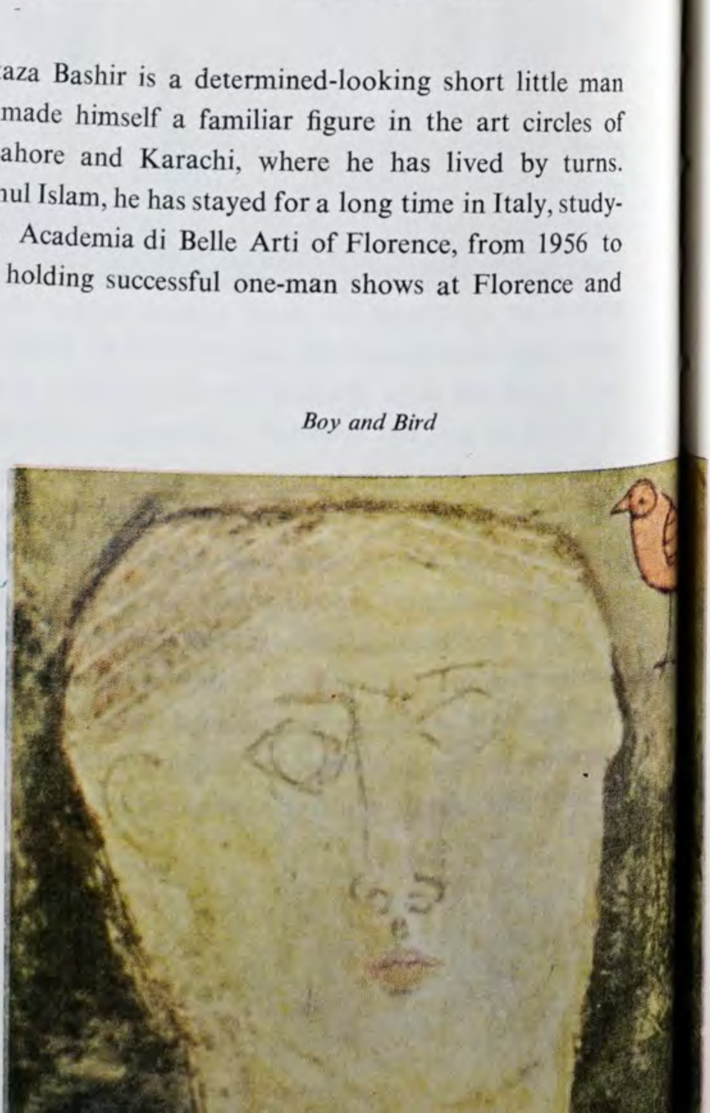
Figure and Foliage

MURTAZA BASHIR

Born Dacca, 1933, *Diploma from Institute of Arts, Dacca,* 1954, *and Academia di Belle Arti, Florence* 1956-58, *nine one-man shown at Florence, Karachi, Lahore, Dacca and Rawalpindi* 1958-63

Murtaza Bashir is a determined-looking short little man who has made himself a familiar figure in the art circles of Dacca, Lahore and Karachi, where he has lived by turns. Like Aminul Islam, he has stayed for a long time in Italy, studying at the Academia di Belle Arti of Florence, from 1956 to 1958 and holding successful one-man shows at Florence and

Boy and Bird



Empoli, as also later in London. During his stay in Italy he professes to have been deeply influenced by the Italian Primitives, but the work he did on his return to Pakistan showed lovely Bengali damsels in rural setting, painted in the Cubist style, and showing the forms as if they were transparent. All the objects before and behind the figure as also the limbs, torso and drapery, were superimposed, and their overlapping lines, judiciously selected to avoid confusion, were built up into an interesting pattern.

It was an extremely pleasant style, done in blues and greens, and offering much in the way of popular appeal. But the notable feature of the work was its extremely sure and firm drawing, which tended to simplify the contours, exaggerate the massiveness of the limbs, and emphasize the hands and feet, which were studiously and masterfully drawn.

After having turned out a few score canvases of this type, he grew out of it, and turned to the study of textural effects on canvas, sometimes by mixing sand and paint. In the changing shades and colours of the canvas, he would show the bare lineaments of a human face lurking somewhere. The face would always be close up and large, but drawn in a special iconography of his own, showing two diamond shapes in place of eyes, two little circles for the nostrils and so on. The statuesque, impassive look added to the air of mystery of these shadow creatures, which were inspired, says the artist, from seeing crumbling and discoloured old walls. The suggestionof sadness and decay was strongly conveyed in these paintings, which were done in ochres and browns and blacks, in preference to his earlier blues and greens. One very fine painting in this style showed a sick boy lying on the ground, with a caged bird beside him. The series reached its culminating point in a canvas showing a particularly rough textured and dun coloured wall, with a small lizard crawling on it, almost unnoticeably because done in the same colours. The picture is a symbol of the decay and dreariness of life.

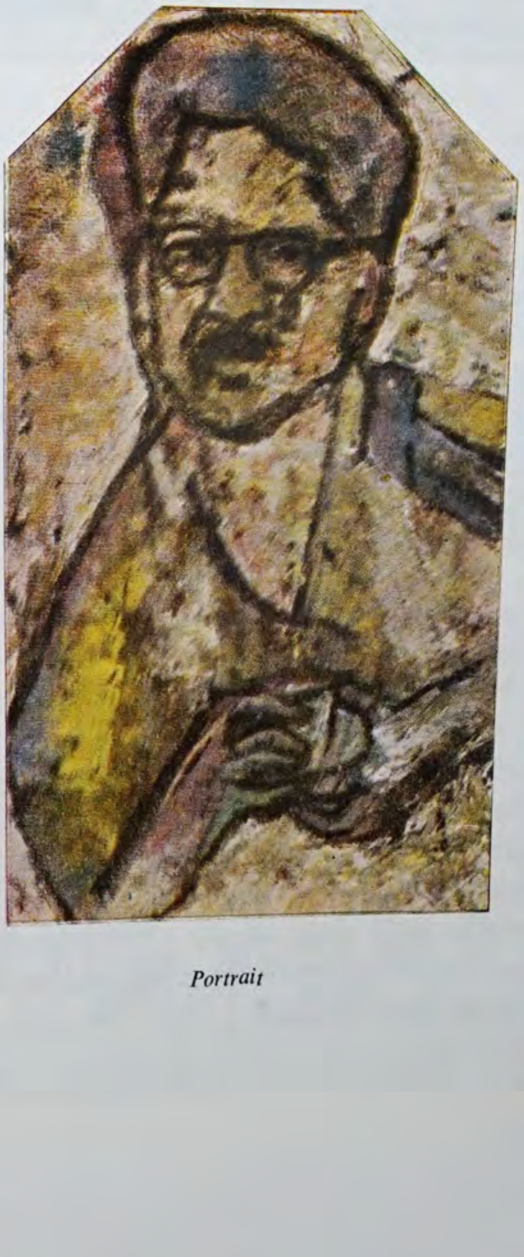
After this painting, Bashir felt he had exhausted the possibilities of the style, and had explored sufficiently the possibilities of texture. Next, he developed an architectural style in which figures were built up with large rectangles or other such clearly outlined areas, like bricks placed one on another, and the areas were usually painted flat. It was an extremely simple style technically, but executed with the same sure and sensitive touch that marked all his other work. With these simple means he was able to build up wonderful visual harmonies, creating tensions and pulls by tilting areas, avoiding the obvious and the commonplace balance, and producing in the end something alive and dynamic out of the apparently stilted and awkward human figures.

JAHANGIR

Born Khulna 1931, *Diploma from Institute of Fine Arts and Crafts, Dacca,* **1955**, *visited Europe and America* 1958-59, *one-man shows at Dacca, Chittagong, Karachi, Rawalpindi and Philadelphia, now runs private art gallery called Galerie Co-op at Rawalpindi*

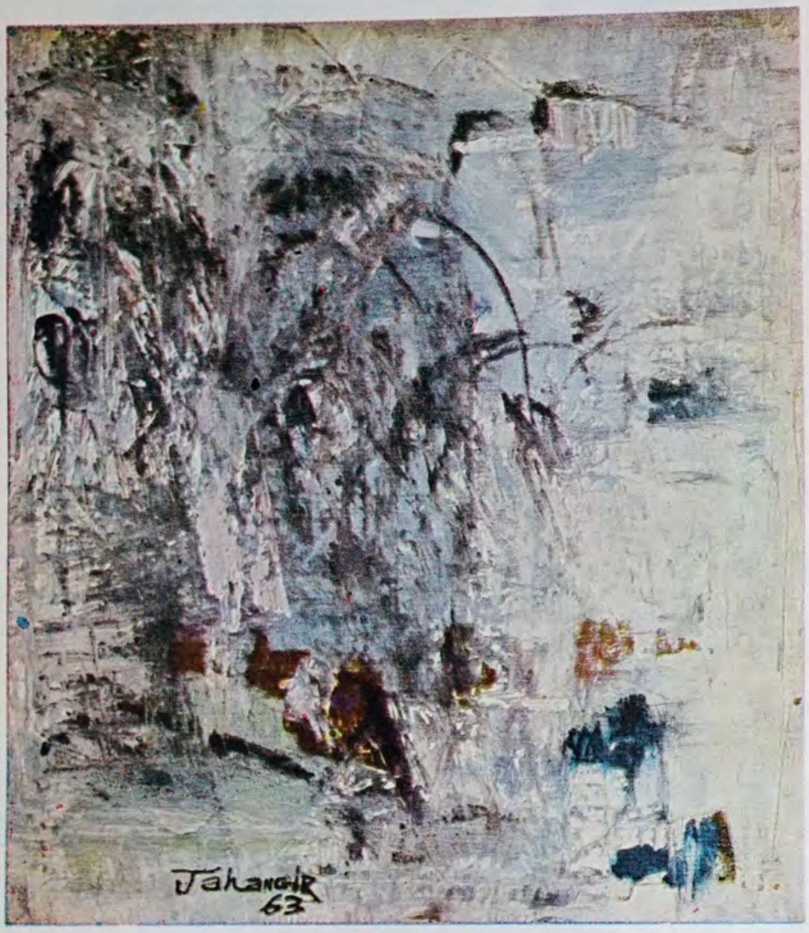
In this fantastically rich range of talent, there is another painter of quite a different type. Dapper young Jahangir, well-dressed and sturdy, open faced and out-going, is an interesting person to meet, and he is everywhere, seeing people, making friends, winning admirers, and incidentally, bagging commissions. He is one of the few "successful" painters of Pakistan, and runs a private art gallery in Rawalpindi, called *Galerie Co-op*.

He began by doing rapid landscape sketches in the manner popularized by Zainul Abedin, free linework in black, done by using a bamboo splinter whose end had been pounded to make a brush, and adding the colour washes with a thick



Portrait

Poem by moonlight



brush. He astonished and delighted people with his rapidly dashed off sketches of street scenes and landscapes, and found many buyers.

It was only a beginning, but certainly showed talent, which he was quick in developing. His long and loving study of landscape seems to have etched in his mind some lovely images and impressions, which he is now using as an alphabet to build up an abstract world of his own. These fantasy landscapes are no more than streaks and dashes, splashed and flowing colours, suggesting bent branches or pools of water, and the like. It is an abstract and amorphous creation, in which the appeal lies in the tonal harmonies, suggestions of depth, and the movement created by doodled lines. Certainly the picture *Moonlight and Rain* which was displayed in the 1963 National Art Show of Pakistan, in Lahore, seemed to dominate the whole show. The memory lingered for long of the exciting vibrancy of line and the subtle tones of colour, that built up this enticing painting. With so much technical skill, and such a rich and refined artistic sense, one can expect great things from Jahangir.

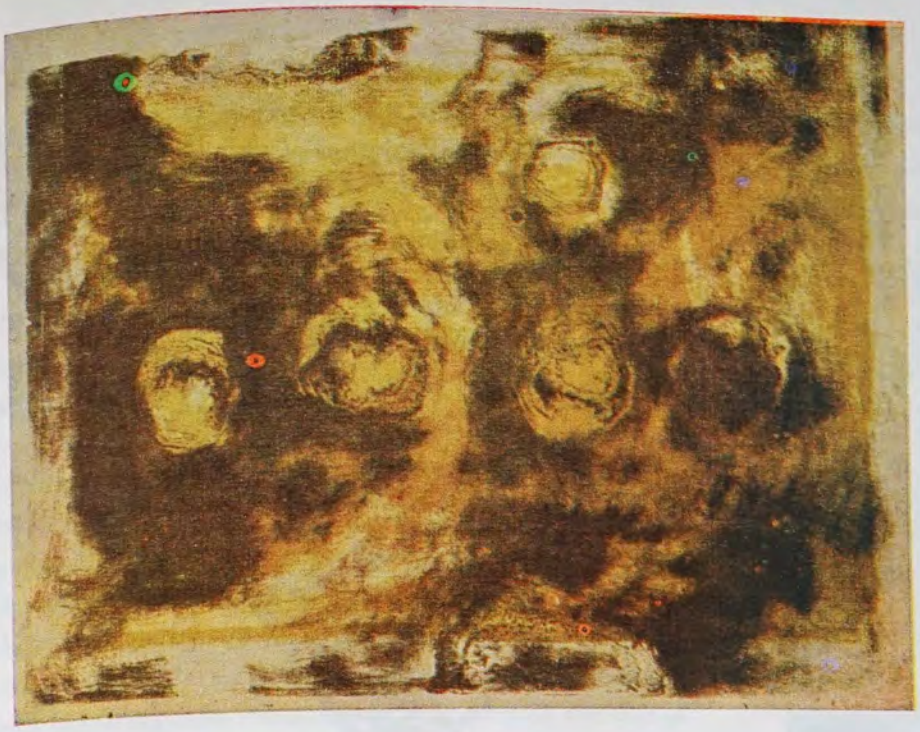
KIBRIA AND RAZZAQ

Born 1929, Diploma from Institute of Arts and Crafts, Dacca, 1950; and University of Fine Arts, Tokyo, 1962; now Lecturer, College of Arts and Crafts, Dacca; represented at D. C., Begistu Shimpansa, Tokyo, and Society of Contemporary Art Gallery, Rawalpindi

In the end there is room to mention only two more artists, certainly not less in talent than any of the rest, but having little to show of recent work at the moment, because of a certain lull in their creative activity. They are warming up to their task,however, and one may look forward confidently to a very productive phase in their lives.

Both are devoted now to the graphic arts, though before his long stay in Japan, Kibria did some astonishingly fine paintings, winning top national awards with one painting called *Three Souls.* This lean, thin, unkempt, shy and silent young man is undoubtedly a genius. Without having ever gone abroad, he painted such authentically modern paintings

Mist



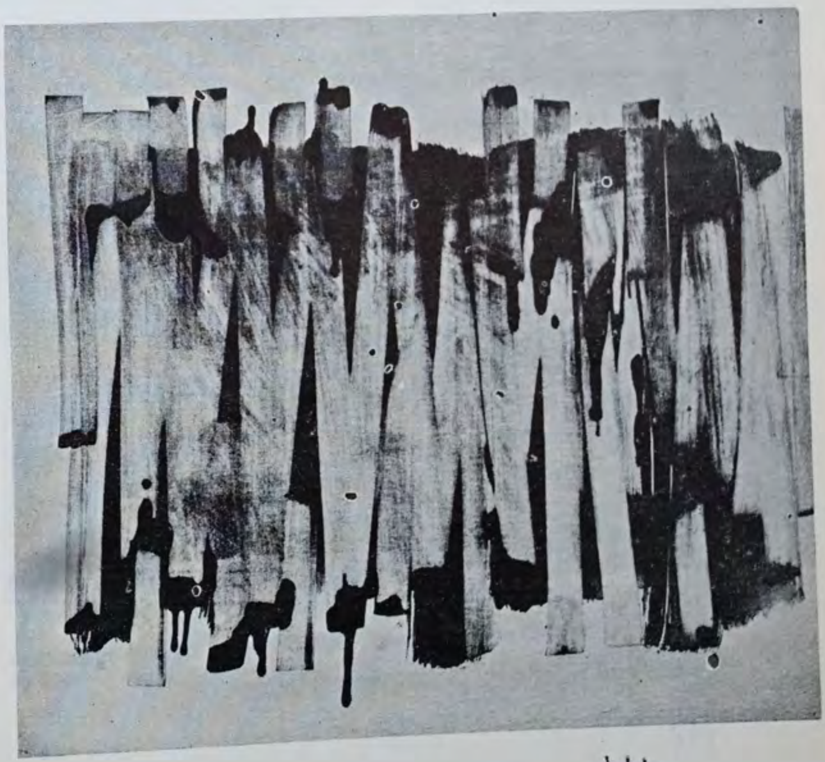
Forms in Space

as *The Horse in Moonlight* and *At the Graveyard.* The slight distortions, the awry and asymmetical placements, the division of forms into geometrical areas, all seemed to suggest long study abroad, but he had not set foot outside his country till then. What is more, he contributed his own distinctive character to the work, in all of which there is the suggestion of a soft radiance suffusing the crystalline forms from behind, the shafts of light playing up the contours of the forms and irradiating certain areas,which are themselves either lost in mist or are made of some translucent stuff. A soft green is the dominating colour in his paintings of that period, set off here and there by a fading orange. There was something pensive and soulful in these remarkable creations and they won universal admiration.

But then Kibria went to Japan for four years and there devoted himself entirely to a study of etching, lithography and other graphic arts. He has returned now with sheafs of prints, utterly abstract — in a Japanese way. A grey mist rolling over a sheet of white paper; a long vertical zig-zag of lines, suggesting lively emotions, and other extemely refined and elemental expressions of the sense of beauty in the abstract—these make up the content of his present work. The excellence is undeniable, and it is good, too, that a new influence has come in from the East to balance the many dominating influences from the West. But in the upshot, it is a rather anaemic and over-refined art, lacking body and shorn of human appeal. If the lessons learnt from this work were utilized in doing more substantial and elaborate work, it would be a welcome development.

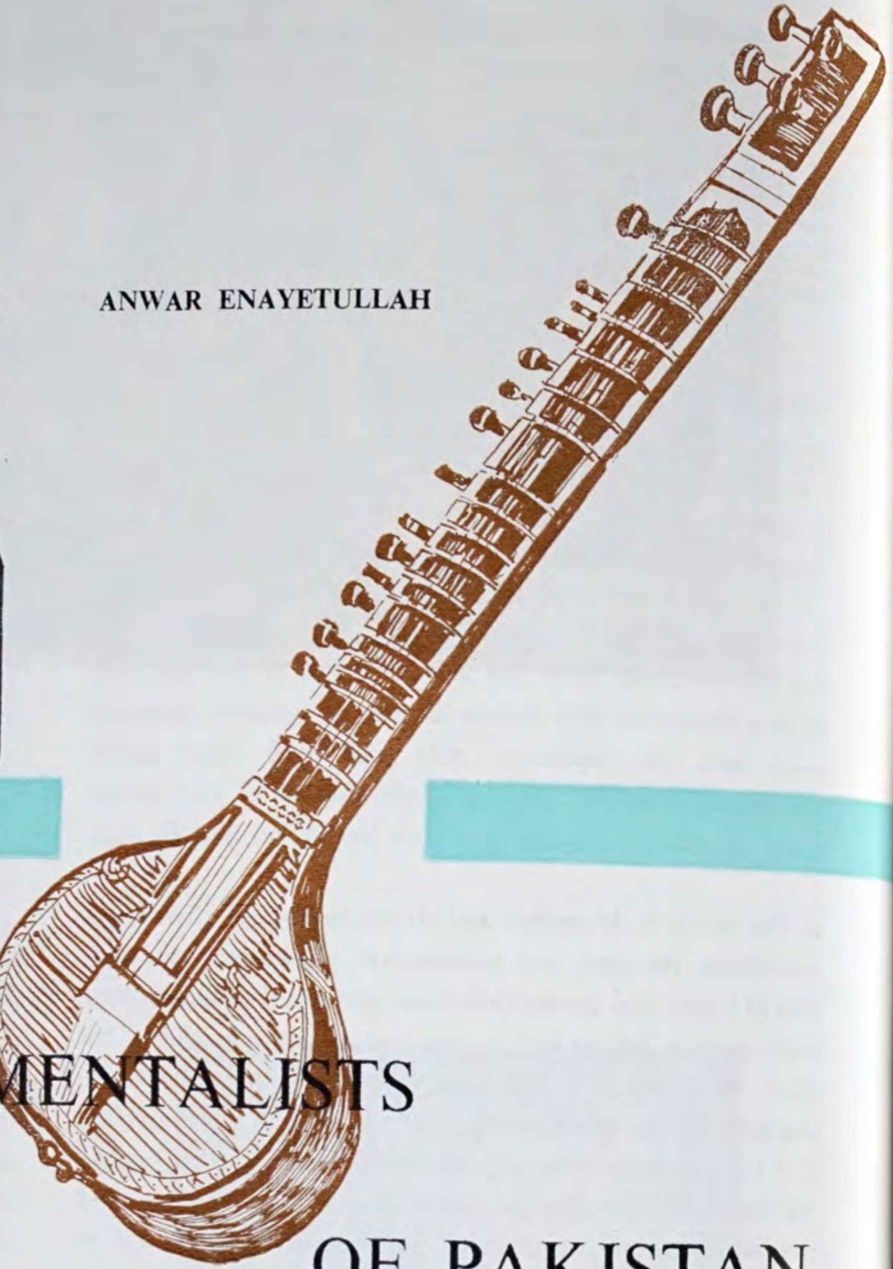
As is doubtless evident, the work is highly individual, both as to style and medium, yet united by a single-minded determination and inflexibility of artistic purpose. Taken as a whole, there is here an impressive body of genuine endeavour whose impact time will certainly reinforce. Considering that most of these talented people are comparatively young, the future is rich with promise and it becomes more and more likely that the attention of the world of art will be even more closely orientated towards them.

Movement



Ustad Bundu Khan, the greatest sarangi player of the sub-continent, who died in January, 1955

ANWAR ENAYETULLAH



INSTRUMENTALISTS OF PAKISTAN

UNLIKE music in the West, Pakistani classical music is to a great extent individualistic. In a way, it is a personal and intimate affair. Although the basic notes and the sequence in which these are sung or played on musical instruments to produce a particular classical mode (or "raag" as it is called) are fixed, the musician is allowed to innovate freely, provided he sticks to the basic pattern of that particular musical piece. It is this freedom of expression that gives Pakistani classical music its infinite charm and distinctive colour, and to the performing musician originality and individuality. Thus it is the individual style, the proficiency and the flight of imagination of a musician that enriches the "raag". In this process the instrumentalist plays a very important role, for a vocal musical piece, however appealing and enchanting it may be, can be rendered still more appealing by judicious pauses and interludes of instrumental music.

ESSENTIAL ACCOMPANIMENT

The instrumentalist extends a helping hand to the vocalist, adding colour to his music by accompanying it faithfully, and, here and there, providing musical ornamentation and annotation intelligently. He thus provides relief both to the vocalist and to the audience. It is impossible to have a good vocal classical musical performance without the accompaniment of a *sarangi* and a *tabla.* Even *tanpura,* a graceful stringed instrument which is used to give a musical background, assumes importance in such performances.

Most of these musical instruments were introduced by the Muslims for the first time to this part of the world. Some of these, particularly the stringed ones, are extremely artistic in appearance. Musical instruments like *sitar, sarangi, dilruba, sarinda, sarod* and *rabab* have not changed much during the past few centuries. The simplest stringed instrument, the *ek tara*, has also remained more or less the same. This instrument is mostly used by wandering minstrels in both the wings of Pakistan.

SAIN MARNA—FOLK MUSICIAN

Ek tara, literally means a musical instrument with just one string. When this musical instrument came into the hands of Sain Marna, it changed form, and although the great folk musician died recently, his innovated *ek tara* remains one of the most melodious musical instruments of the subcontinent. His *ek tara* had a large round hollow belly made of a dried pumpkin shell. It had a long wooden stem which had one main metal string. There were four other metal strings underneath the main string that produced resonance. Sain Marna used a *mizrab*, (a metal plectrum) to pluck the strings and simultaneously he pressed the strings with a small wooden piece to produce the required notes. Although he used to play the instrument by holding it like a *sitar*, he later adopted the technique of playing it like a *vichitra veena*.

Like his unusual name, which indicates that he was a fatalist, Sain Marna's whole personality was shrouded in mystery. It is said that while still very young, he fell in love with a village lass who was in love with some one else. Dejected, he left his village and started roaming about the country side. One day, he reached the *mazar* (shrine) of the famous saint, Hazrat Data Gunj Buksh. There he heard a minstrel who was playing the *ek tara* for accompaniment. This instrument produced only a simple rhythmic pattern, and proper tunes could not be played on it. The minstrel and the *ek tara* in those serene surroundings fascinated Sain Marna. It is said that when, after a few days, he left the shrine, he was a new man. He came out barefooted in black robes with a shaven head. At first he had the conventional type of *ek tara*, but soon it changed form.

He lived all his life away from the madding crowd in the heart of rural Punjab, roaming and playing music that thrilled millions and brought tears of joy to many an eye. An outstanding merit of his music was the purity and perfection of his notes. He had the power to mould successfully any *raag's* classical substance into popular forms that were aesthetically beautiful and emotionally appealing. His music often reflected the sad pensive mood of the restless soul that was Sain Marna. This popular musician suddenly died in October 1961 at Jaranwala, West Pakistan.

USTAD BUNDU KHAN

Like Sain Marna, Ustad Bundu Khan, the great Sarangi player, also introduced remarkable changes in his musical instrument. The conventional type of *sarangi*, a stringed instrument that is played with a bow, is very widely used both for accompaniment and solo performances. It is known as the violin of the East and it has the mellow tone of a *viola*.

Ustad Bundu Khan's *Sarangi* was much smaller than the common variety. It was about two and a half feet long and was made up of a hollow bamboo nearly three and a half inches wide. Instead of gut strings, commonly used in *sarangis*, he used steel wires. This change gave remarkable depth and brightness to the instrument. The *sarangi* is always played by drawing a bow horizontally across the strings with one hand, and at the same time, by sliding the finger nails on the strings vertically, and not by pressing the strings as in a violin or any other stringed instrument. Ustad Bundu Khan had a style of his own. Besides playing the *sarangi* in the conventional style, he usually played it by tapping, which was something new.

Ustad Bundu Khan was born in the early eighties of the last century in a family of renowned musicians in Delhi—the great city of Amir Khusro, Ghalib and Bahadur Shah Zafar.

Graceful fingers plucking the strings of a Tanpura, whose function is to maintain a continuous drove, stressing the Raaga's tonic and dominant

Imamuddin, the well known Rabab player; the instrument has a banjo tone

His father Ali Hasan and his maternal uncle Mamman Khan taught him to play the *sarangi* from a very early age. The young Bundu picked up music quickly and intelligently. Soon he acquired such skill that all those who heard him, confidently predicted a brilliant future for this young *Sarangi* player. Due to sheer hard work and devotion to his art, that took the form of total dedication, within years he became a great favourite in many princely courts of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. He spent his youth in these colourful courts and attained great fame. After the dawn of independence, he migrated to Pakistan and till his death on January 13, 1955, he remained the greatest Sarangi player of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

DEDICATED MUSICIAN

For the last sixty years of his life, he rarely parted company with his *sarangi.* At home or in his daily outings and even while sleeping, the *sarangi* used to be with him and his restless fingers slowly sliding up and down the strings. It was his great devotion to his art that helped him master almost all the known *raags* of our classical music. He knew by heart the "*boles*" (wordings) of almost all the original *Khayals* of well-known composers like Amir Khusro, Sultan Husain Sharqi, Mian Taan Sain, Ada Rang, Sada Rang and Wajid Ali Shah Akhtar Piya.

Nazar Hussain, perhaps the youngest Sarod player in the sub-continent

It was a treat to watch Ustad Bundu Khan playing his *sarangi.* In deep devotion, his eyes usually closed and in moments of impassioned exaltation, he would often start singing. With its formal contours sharply defined, his music stood out with the vividness of a living pictorial effect, giving it a sense of flow and continuity, passing into a mood wherein musical expression can be described as the quintessence of this great art form.

HUMBLE IN GREATNESS

His humble and amiable nature secured for him a large and enthusiastic following. Although he occupied a distinguished place among the musicians of the sub-continent, one could ask him to accompany any good vocalist. I still remember vividly an occasion when an amateur lady vocalist was broadcasting Amir Khusru's ghazal. The *maestro* was also there in the studio waiting for his item which was to follow the lady's ghazal. The wordings of the song, the plaintive tune and the rich voice of the artist inspired him so much that suddenly he picked up his Sarangi and started accompanying her. For him the status of the artist was not important. What was important was the music that was being produced. If it appealed to him, it was definitely worthy of praise and encouragement.

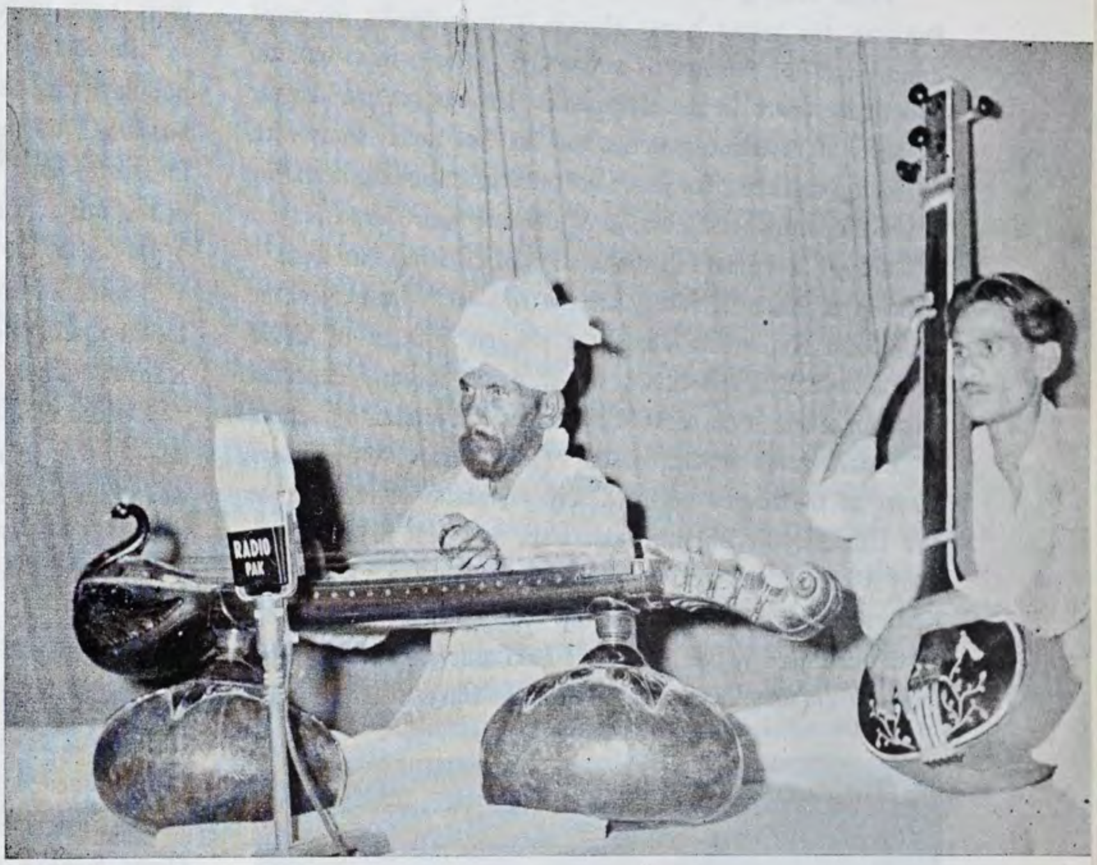
I also remember the opening night of Karachi's Broadcasting House when Radio Pakistan had collected the country's best talent to participate in the concert that was graced by a distinguished gathering. In those days, Ustad Baray Ghulam Ali Khan was still a Pakistani national and was at the height of his musical career. He was to broadcast a Khayal. Ustad Bundu Khan was also present in the studios and he was to play all the different forms of *Raag Kedara* later in the night. It so happened that some one suggested: why not a *jugal bandi* on the air? Ustad Baray Ghulam Ali Khan to sing and Ustad Bundu Khan to accompany on Sarangi? It could be a superb programme! But who could go and talk to Ustad Bundu Khan? Usually great instrumentalists consider it beneath their dignity to accompany vocalists. But when Ustad Bundu Khan came to know of this proposition, he readily agreed to accompany Ustad Baray Ghulam Ali Khan. The result was a remarkable item that has remained fresh in the memory of all those who were fortunate to listen to it. The Sarangi accompaniment was so faithful throughout that several times, the vocalist himself joined the audience that burst forth in applause time and again. The bowing abounded in sweetness, the permutation of notes was fast and spontaneous and the delineation of the raag was superb. In his death, Pakistan lost a great artist, who was also great as a human being.

USTAD NATHU KHAN

Ustad Nathu Khan, Pakistan's topmost *Sarangi* player, who is now in his early forties, has still a long way to go before he attains Ustad Bundu Khan's heights. But he is blessed with all those qualities that make a truly great artist. He is not only an excellent accompanist, but also a remarkable soloist. As an accompanist, he forgets himself and sincerely tries to embelish and enliven the music of the vocalist. As a soloist, he gives his music an extremely fascinating colour, making every phrase, vividly and cogently expressive. Today he is undoubtedly the fastest *Sarangi* player in the sub-continent. An alluring feature of his style is reflected in the delineation of the *raag* which he develops leisurely and imaginatively in the *bilampat laye* (slow tempo) and in sporadic outbursts of extremely fast manipulations in the *durat laye* (Allegro). He always utilizes his skill to brighten and vivify his music. That is why his Sarangi recitals always appeal to laymen and critics alike.

During recent years, Ustad Nathu Khan has successfully composed music for Pakistan films under the name of N.K. Nasir. Although he is on the permanent staff of Radio Pakistan, one can often see this frail, modest, refined looking man performing superbly in musical concerts.

Ustad Allah Ditta, the topmost tabla player, famous for dexterous swift movements, producing well defined boles



The late Ustad Habib Ali Khan, playing on his graceful Vichitra Veena

TWO GREAT SITAR PLAYERS

Two other great instrumentalists are Muhammad Sharif Poonchwala who plays the *sitar* and the *vichira veena*, and Ustad Ayat Ali Khan of East Pakistan, the well known *sarod* and *surbahar* player, both very simple and unassuming persons but past masters in their respective fields.

The *sitar*, the queen of our musical instruments, which is played with a plectrum, owes its existence to the genius of Amir Khusro, who revolutionised the music of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in the fourteenth century.

This graceful instrument continues to remain very popular with both professional and amateur musicians and there are some in Pakistan who rank high among the Sitar players of the sub-continent. Among them Mohammad Sharif Poonchwala occupies a unique place. His style of sitar playing often reflects the fact that perhaps he is basically a *vichitra veena* player. Unlike most of the other great sitar players, he concentrates much more on the *bilampat* than on the *durat laye*. That is why it is a real treat to listen to his delineation of a *raag*, the soft luminosity of his notes, their superb clearness, precision and sensitivity and his remarkable dexterity. His playing of *vichitra veena* also depicts the same sense of serene repose mingled with a penetrating feeling for depth that has made him one of the most original sitar players of the sub-continent and has secured for him a large and enthusiastic following.

AYAT ALI KHAN—SAROD PLAYER

Ustad Ayat Ali Khan is now in his late seventies. He is considered as one of the great *Sarod* players of East Pakistan. Like Sharif Poonchwala, he also strives to emphasise the lyrical contours of the *Raag*. Although in his old age, he has lost the speed, sensitivity, and creative power that are characteristic of some other younger *sarod* players, he continues to attract great attention and receive deep respect from music lovers for his immense service to this art form.

From among the younger group of *Sarod* players of Pakistan, the young Nazar Husain is undoubtedly the most promising. His *bilampat* is serene and spacious in expression and he is superb in the *durat laye*. He has command over all sorts of rhythmic patterns and his fast sallies come with refreshing alacrity, like jet-speed musical impulses, revealing in the finale the artistic mood of the intelligent *sarod* player.

Some other great instrumentalists of Pakistan who deserve mention in this brief survey are the *vichitra veena* player, the late Ustad Habib Ali Khan, the younger brother of Ustad Abdul Aziz Khan Beenkar, whose death recently deprived Pakistan of one of the greatest exponents of a fascinating school of instrumental music. Ustad Pazir Khan, the *sarinda* player of the rugged north-western regions of Pakistan, the late Ustad Qadir Bukhsh Pakhawaji, the great *tabla* player, Dhir Ali Mian, the *Bansri* player of East Pakistan, Khamisso Khan and Misri Khan Jamali, the well-known *alghoza* players of the southern regions of West Pakistan, all have thrilled thousands in musical concerts in both the wings of the country.

Ustad Nathu Khan, the great Sarangi player, whose fingers slide along the strings with lightning speed

POPULAR ALGHOZA PLAYERS

Alghoza, a popular folk musical instrument, is a double flute, consisting of two pipes that are played together, one for producing a continuous drone which gives a musical base, and the other for the melody itself. It is believed that the name of the instrument has been derived from the original Arabic word *al-jauza* (the twain) which was a wind instrument prevalent in the Middle East long ago. Both Khamisso Khan and Misri Khan Jamali are popular folk musicians who participate in musical concerts dressed typically in the garb of Sindhi folk musicians, with baggy *shalwars* and colourful turbans. To the accompaniment of a *dholak* (drum) or a pair of *tablas*, they play both folk and classical tunes with equal ease, swaying their heads, pouring out melodious notes from their reed instrument.

Pakistan is also rich in percussion instruments. Some popular varieties are *dhole*, *dholak*, *tabla*, *pakhawaj* and *mridang*. Of these, the *tabla*, or a pair of tablas, are the most important ones. In almost all musical concerts in this part of the world, the *tablas* play the pivotal role. The two pieces of the *tabla*, are played by one and the same musician.

Some of the well known *tabla* players of Pakistan are Ustad Qadir Bukhsh Pakhawaji, who is now dead, Ustad Karim Bukhsh Pairna, and Ustad Allah Ditta.

Ustad Qadir Bukhsh Pakhawaji was born in Lahore about seventy five years ago. His father, Mian Faqir Bukhsh Pakhawaji, was also a great *tabla* and *pakhawaj* player. Those were the days when in the realm of our music, *tabla* virtuosos Khalifa Abid Husain, Baba Sindhi and Malang Khan reigned supreme. The young Qadir Bukhsh travelled a lot with his father and thus listened to some of the great *tabla* players of the sub-continent in musical concerts. He had already started learning *tabla* playing from his father who proved to be an excellent teacher. But before he could teach his young enthusiastic son all the finer points of the art, he died suddenly. Qadir Bukhsh was then only ten. It was after his father's death that he came into contact with Baba Sindhi and Malang Khan, who were both disciples of his family of Pakhawajis. Thus began a very strenuous period of training for Qadir Bukhsh. It is said that in those days he used to practice for over fifteen hours daily. Very soon, he mastered the intricate art of playing *pakhawaj* and *tabla* and till his death in September, 1961, he remained one of the greatest exponent of this art form.

He often attended musical concerts in ceremonial dress that was worn in court functions. I vividly remember an

Ustad Karim Bukhsh Pairna in a musical concert; his deft movements on the tabla produce fascinating rhythmic patterns

open air concert during the hey-day of his life, when he appeared in a large colourful turban and a well-fitted black *achkan* with a row of medals on his broad chest. The moment he slowly walked to the microphone, he gave the impression as if he had stepped out of the pages of history. And when he sat down to play, the pair of *tablas* looked small and toy-like before his rather huge personality. The *tabla* recital began splendidly for it was obvious that the Ustad was in high spirits. After he had demonstrated his skill for about ten minutes, the *sarangi* player suddenly started increasing the tempo of the *lahra* and in the process asked the Ustad to divide a rather difficult beat-space of the time cycle in a particular way. The great *ustad* accepted the challenge smilingly and without any difficulty completed the time-cycle so smoothly and artistically that the enthralled audience immediately burst forth into thunderous applause, and when the item ended, they all gave him a standing ovation, which is rather rare in this part of the world.

It is unfortunate that during recent decades, *pakhawaj* players are slowly disappearing and *tabla* has taken the place of *pakhawaj* in our musical concerts. Ustad Qadir Bukhsh was perhaps the last in the line of great exponents of *pakhawaj* and till his death, he was rightly called the "poet of rhythm" by connoisseurs of music in this part of the world.

Very tall and healthy looking, Ustad Karim Bukhsh Pairna is now in his late seventies. He has been a great solo performer for such a long time that in his old age, when he is made to accompany even great vocalists, it is found that he is too rigid to successfully rise to the heights of a great accompanist, who should have the capacity to lend his art to adorn the art of the vocalist or the instrumentalist as the case may be. Inspite of the drawback, if it can be called one, he continues to remain a great tabla player. He has now settled down permanently in Quetta.

Handsome Ustad Allah Ditta, who was once famous as *Pari Paikar*, is today, undoubtedly the topmost *tabla* player of Pakistan. Both as an accompanist and a solo performer, he is superb. As an accompanist, he is in great demand, for instead of indulging in self-expression, he readily lends his art to glorify the music that is being performed. As a solo player, he fascinates the audience by the dexterous swift movements of his hands, producing well-defined *boles* (musical phrases). He deftly produces all kinds of *boles* from his *tabla*. I still remember an interesting episode that reflects well this aspect of Ustad Allah Ditta's art.

It all happened on a cold night in December 1953 at a musical function arranged by a V.I.P. in his palatial bungalow. The distinguished gathering included quite a few foreigners. After giving a superb *tabla* recital, Ustad Allah Ditta announced that to entertain the foreigners who did not understand fully the intricacies of our music, he would now present a special tabla-composition. He then sat down before his pair of tablas and suddenly the audience heard the roar of thunder and then slowly as if it started raining. A few seconds later, the downpour increased and soon blinding sheets of rain whipped through the air. Then, as if by magic, a raging swirling storm broke out in all its fury, followed by the sound of the howling wind that passed overhead at regular intervals. After a few minutes, the storm subsided and the rain stopped and the tabla player stood up to receive thunderous applause. He had successfully demonstrated that *tablas* were a remarkable type of musical instruments superior to almost all known varieties of drums.

Ustad Allah Ditta has travelled extensively and has earned a great name for himself and for his country which has produced so many great musicians.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE STRUGGLE FOR PAKISTAN: *by Ishtiaq Husain Qureishi Pub. by the University of Karachi,* 1965.

This new book by Dr. I. H. Qureishi is a valuable addition to the meagre literature on Pakistan, and the only book wholly devoted to a study of the political movement that led to the emergence of Pakistan on the map of the world. There was of course the autobiographical "Pathway to Pakistan" by Chaudhri Khaliquz-zaman, which is unique in its own way, because it is the only autobiography written by a politician who took a leading part in the struggle for Pakistan.

But such a book cannot take the place of a scholarly historical study. An excellent effort in this direction was made by Khalid Bin Sayeed in his "Pakistan—The Formative Phase", but only half the book is devoted to the period to prior to 1947 when Pakistan came into being, and the rest covers other political and constitutional subjects, as also the later developments in Pakistan. Naturally the treatment tends to be more summary, though it is considerably enlivened by the fact that the writer draws heavily upon interviews with leading politicians of the recent past and of the present.

Another scholarly book was published later by the Public Affairs Press, called "Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan". The bulk of the volume traces the history of the Muslims since the advent of their rule in West Pakistan in the 7th century, but the last one hundred pages contain a racy account of the rise of Pakistan—from 1857 to 1947.

Undoubtedly a book was needed which thoroughly and in detail surveyed the whole span of a hundred years from the time the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan lost the dominion of this region to the British, up to the winning of freedom and the setting up of an independent state in 1947.

Beginning on a reflective and analytical note, the writer explains the *raison d'etre* of Pakistan, and then launches upon a survey of the revival and renaissance of the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan after 1857, using Syed Ahmed Khan as the starting point.

The political activity till 1914 was comparatively meagre though of great consequence for the future, and this is disposed of briefly in a small chapter.

As the writer takes up period after period, the treatment becomes more and more detailed, as no doubt source material becomes more easily available—first 1914-1935, then 1936 to 1939, then 1940, the year when the Pakistan Resolution was adopted by the Muslim League, then the troubled days of 1941-42, and on to the many hectic constitutional negotiations towards the end of the war and immediately after it, which culminated in the creation of Pakistan.

The whole drama of political struggle in India between the Hindus, the Muslims and the British, with all the dates and names and references that one can wish for is presented very ably in one volume. All original documents are fully drawn upon, and interesting quotations from contemporary press reports and comments are given, to substantiate or enliven the argument, or to give it a new dimension.

The great protagonists of the Muslim and the Hindu cause, and of course the top British rulers hold the stage, and their long drawn out negotiations and arguments are reconstructed with inimitable sureness of touch and judicious selectiveness in use of source material. The great political events, like conferences, elections, pacts, agreements, are given the full treatment they deserve, always quoting chapter and verse.

The total impact of this enormous load of factual data, so intelligently marshalled, is absolutely overwhelming, and the most sceptical will be convinced by the enthusiastic advocacy of the case of Pakistan.

This documentation becomes all the more thorough after the first five chapters, which are in the nature of an introduction and are rather hurried and sketchy.

At places one has a feeling that the writer is so engrossed and lost in his subject that he does not realize he is skipping over some events—which are no doubt all too familiar to him.

For example on page 53, we are told that the Muslim League and Congress had achieved such complete understanding that the Muslim League did not meet as a separate body from 1919 to 1924. When it did meet, it passed a resolution demanding Swaraj. It is not explained why the Muslim League drifted apart from the Congress after 1924, and what were the developments that led to this split.

This example shows that the book has the quality of a research thesis which compiles and presents all the hard bricks of facts but lacks the cement of imagination or intuition to make it a connected narrative.

One misses in the book information about the general state of the nation, the thoughts and feelings of the public, incidents and happenings in the country as a whole and not in the lives of Gandhi, Jinnah and Wavell and the rest. Even in the case of these leaders, we never get any glimpses that show them as human beings, apart from people who make political statements or take decisions on matters of state.

This attractive quality of vivid writing, however, need not be considered essential, but atleast the reader would expect to be told in greater detail of the widespread commotion and the intense fervour that the struggle of Pakistan was causing in the lives of the people from one end of the sub-continent to the other. The account in the book ignores the background of the nation's life in focussing attention on the main protagonists that held the stage as far as politics was concerned.

All in all, the book is a valuable treasure house of facts and data, but it does not justify its title of "The Struggle for Pakistan" because it does not touch closely the people's lives but confines itself to the actions of a few leaders. Moreover, it does not do justice to the noble theme as a narrative, because it probably sets out to present the cold facts, without attempting to bring out the drama that lies behind them.

—S.A.A.

MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE AND ART TREASURES IN PAKISTAN : *by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Karachi.*

Perhaps the most sumptuous art publication ever to be published in this country has been brought out by the Department of Archaeology in the form of this pictorial treasury of the art of Pakistan.

The book contains 140 plates of 10 x 14 inches printed on real art paper in black, sepia and blue.

Of these, 81 show architectural monuments, including mosques, tombs, gardens and forts, one shows coins and 11 show metal, wood and papier-mache work. There are 6 examples of textiles and costumes, 9 of pottery and tiles, 10 of inscriptions on buildings, 3 Farmaans and Documents, 6 of calligraphy, 9 of paintings, two of arms and armour, and one of ivory objects.

The preponderance of architectural pictures is understandable as this is undoubtedly the art in which the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan and elsewhere achieved greatest distinction and in which they found fullest self-expression.

This does not mean that the achievements on the other arts were negligible, because a cursory glance at the pictures in this book will convince anyone that in painting and calligraphy and in the minor arts too the standards attained were very high and they have drawn superlative praise from distinguished European critics.

The painting section does not do justice to our noble heritage in this field because not a single painting belongs to the great period of Mughal painting. The examples included in this book all belong to a very late period (18th or 19th century) and are by no means the best examples even at that. The reason for this poor representation is that all the paintings used in the book are taken from their own collection, while the best Mughal paintings have long ago found their way out of the country and today grace foreign museums.

Whatever merit the paintings may have had is lost in the printing. While the quality of printing is good enough for architectural pictures, it certainly does not do justice to the finer shades of a painting.

In the case of one large painting reproduced in colour on the cover, it seems that the block was made from a colour transparency, with the result that all the subtlety of line is lost in this diffused and fuzzy print.

The pictures of buildings are well photographed and fairly well printed by the letter-press process, but the dark areas often get clogged and solid, so that the grain loses its clearness and transparency.

It is understood, however that the book was produced under great pressure in record time, and therefore one must admit that the result is laudable.

The introduction is too short for a serious student, to whom undoubtedly this sumptuous book is addressed, though it is very well written.

The captions give bare historical facts, instead of containing comments on the artistic side of the objects shown. After all, the specimens shown in this book are presented as objects of art and not as historical data, and they should be so considered in the comments.

Perhaps when the second edition of this book is brought out, it will be possible to make many improvements.

—S A A.

8,000 RURAL REPUBLICS . .

Contd from page 59

succeed. Naturally, they were shaped as instruments of law and order rather than as agencies for national reconstruction, though these duties too were entrusted to them in some measure. Their effectiveness, however, was seriously curtailed by lack of adequate finances and by indifferent official support. Thus, instead of the intended one "Panchayat" for each of the forty thousand villages of West Pakistan, only one thousand ever started functioning. Counterparts of the District Councils also were set up still earlier but the new Councils have many improved features, the chief being the introduction of the idea of "official-in-council" by which all district officials were made answerable to the Council as a whole; secondly, much greater powers have been given to co-ordinate the activities of the other local councils in the district, both rural and urban; much greater development work has been entrusted to the Council, and above all the finances have been generously increased.

Apart from the detailed differences between the old local councils and the new, today the circumstances are quite different, the auspices are different, and so are the ideals and objectives. The object is rapid national progress. The ideal is to achieve it by democratic means. The auspices are a national government prepared and eager to share power with the people at all levels, but according to the ability of the people to do so; for it does not need to go by the book but by the demands of the situation. Viewed thus, the value of the new system becomes apparent.

SALIENT ADVANTAGES

Parliamentary democracy operates only at the top, while all down the line power extends through a hierarchy of officials. Surveillance of officials by the parliamentary members and of the latter by their constituents is possible in a small compact country like England or France but not in Pakistan. Here democracy needs to be introduced at every level of the administration, and even down to the village, as has been done.

Second, it solves the problem of associating with the work of government the masses of people who are largely uneducated and untrained in democratic processes, by tailoring the institutions to the abilities of the people. At the lowest level of the village, they can elect whom they like and do as they wish in that local sphere. In the upper tier councils, some of the freely elected members of the lowest councils are chosen to sit with officials and other experts who are specially nominated for the help they can render. Here power is shared, but the confrontation made possible is mutually beneficial.

Third, it takes note of such hard realities as the overriding local loyalties of the villagers and makes use of it, because that is as far as the social awareness of the villagers has developed. Again, the tendency to factionalism in the villages is guarded against by steering clear of the party system in these councils, as the elections are held on an individual basis.

Fourth, it provides the best solution to the problems of rampant beaurocracy, which was built up as a pillar of support by the foreign rulers but which continues by sheer momentum, and because in the vacuum created by themselves, the officials are the only persons who have the ability and the resources to initiate nation-building work of all types, in our conditions. By placing the officials as members in all the local councils except the lowest, the system subjects them to the scrutiny and even the control of the public representatives.

Finally, Basic Democracy provides the institutional framework at the village level through which a wide variety of public welfare work can be executed and to which also numerous administrative duties can be entrusted.

RECENT RECORD

This brief introduction would be incomplete if only the plan and design of this system were described and the actual edifice raised on that plan were kept out of view. Basic Democracies have completed six years of their existence, and it should be possible to judge their viability and practicability from their recent record.

Louis Dupree of the American Universities Field Staff Report Service had remarked in 1961: "Now a Basic Democracies Programme is well underway, and whether it succeeds or fails, it is one of the best planned theoretically possible schemes for eventual representational government in Asia today".

What is the situation after six years? Considering first of all the scene in the villages, where action was called for most urgently, the democratic tradition has certainly been strongly revived and almost re-planted where it had withered under authoritarian conditions.

Local affairs are being run more and more by local people. The Union Councillors are almost all small farmers (84 per cent own less than 100 acres) and they have suddenly acquired decision-making powers not only in village matters but in broader areas, for some who become chairmen also sit as members in higher tier councils, and all elect the provincial assemblies and the national assembly, as also the President of Pakistan.

The feudal hierarchy, already greatly weakened by the land reforms of 1958, is further broken through because officials on tour or in the District headquarters no longer have to deal with the big landlord of the village for gauging local requirements or for getting anything done, as they were apt to do because the landlord was the only point of social contact. Now officials are obliged, willy nilly, to visit Union Council offices, and so the poor farmer finds a channel of communication with the Government where none existed before. This new personality too is stronger by the fact of being a corporate personality. The weight of organized opinion is being felt increasingly by the authorities, and in fact they are learning to lean more and more on this convenient local institution in planning or executing public work.

Apart from their relationship with the government, the villagers are learning to think and act as a group, rising above personal, communal and factional interest for the sake of the community, though this transformation is a slow and laborious process in our individualistic rural society.

The people are only slowly learning to follow group leadership, and the leaders themselves are having to make a great effort to rise above narrower considerations and to identify themselves with public good. The Chairmen complain of the apathy of the villagers and the non-cooperation of the members of the Councils, while the members of the Councils complain that the Chairmen of Union Councils arrogate to themselves all the powers, and as far as possible ignore the other members.

EVOLUTION OF BASIC DEMOCRACY

Keeping in view the actual experience gained in working the system, many important changes were made during the last six years to satisfy public demands to make the system more democratic and effective.

First of all, the inclusion of nominated members (in addition to elected members) was dropped. By an amendment to the Basic Democracies Ordinance, in the second election that took place in 1965, all the members of the basic councils (the rural Union Councils, the urban Union Committees and the Town Committees), were elected by universal adult franchise. In the Tehsil and Thana Councils, all the Chairmen of the basic councils will be members, and there will be no "appointed" members. There will, however, be official members, as before, whose number will not be more than that of the "representative" members.

In the District Councils, the elected members will be elected from among themselves by the Chairmen of the three basic councils, while the other half of the Council will be composed of official members. In the case of the Divisional Council, the elected members will be elected from amongst themselves by the elected members of all the District Councils in that division, while the other half of the Council will be made up of official members.

Apart from democratizing the composition of the Councils, provision has also been made to reduce the tendency to concentration of powers in the hands of the Chairmen, by making them share the power with Vice-Chairmen. In East Pakistan, even the Union Councils have been asked to elect Vice-Chairmen, while in both wings of Pakistan elected Vice-Chairmen have been provided for District Councils, to share specified powers with the Chairman who is the Deputy Commissioner. (Municipal Committees, under the Municipal Ordinance, already had elected Vice-Chairmen, who were private citizens, while the Chairman was a government official).

Provision has also been made to keep the Chairman responsive to his Council, by allowing removal of the Chairman of a Union Council if a vote of non-confidence is passed in the Council by a two-third majority. Similarly, provision has been made for the removal of Vice-Chairmen of District Councils (and of Municipal Committees).

OFFICIAL SUPERVISION

There is no denying the fact that all this democratic activity is conducted under the vigilant eyes of the all-powerful officials, in this case the chief administrative officer of the district called the Deputy Commissioner, and his special agent for this work called the Assistant Director of Basic Democracies.* But such control over local councils is exercised by the government, to a lesser or greater degree, even in the most highly developed and democratic countries. In the case of Pakistan it is all the more necessary because our poor illiterate villagers have to be led on the path of democracy which had become overgrown with the thorns and brambles of autocratic ways.

One example will make this point clear. Elementary education is almost everywhere considered the special province of local government, and the right to control local elementary schools themselves is often jealously guarded by the community as against the state or the central government. The history of educational administration in the U.S.A. illustrates this tendency. In Pakistan the duty to provide and administer primary education was listed as number one among the compulsory functions of the District Councils, but there was such wide-spread clamour against this step both by the public and even more so by the teachers that the Provincial Government was obliged to take over control of primary schools, although the finances have still to be provided by the District Council. The reason is that people do not yet have confidence in the administrative ability and impartiality of local elected leaders. However, a District Primary Education Committee has been formed in every district on which two private members of the district council are represented, so that they may be associated with the work of educational administration. The next higher tier, the Divisional Council, however, has been given full power to finalize plans of educational development received from the Districts, but the actual administration is still in the hands of the Provincial Government.

** There is a Director of Basic Democracies in the office of the Commissioner of the Division, an Assistant Director, in the office of the Deputy Commissioner of the District, Supervisors/Circle officer in Tehsil/Thana and a Secretary in each Union Council.*

LOCAL COUNCILS VS. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Every effort is being made by the government to re-orient the officials to the changed conditions of a democratic life, and on the other hand the local councils are being encouraged to assert themselves more and more by giving them more functions and also powers, but the present system of our district administration is such that the councils are likely to remain subservient to the Deputy Commissioner. After all, this chief functionary of the Government in the far-flung districts of the country cannot undertake effective tutelage of democratic institutions in the countryside when he is at the same time responsible for maintaining law and order and for collecting taxes. The latter two are his main duties by which his efficiency will be judged.

RURAL POLICE

It is very difficult for the Deputy Commissioner or the Deputy Superintendent of Police (the highest officer of the district on that side) to allow any encroachment in the sphere of keeping the peace. The police is not willing even to place their chief district officer under the Deputy Commissioner like the other district officers (of agriculture, irrigation, education and the like) let alone transfer this function to the humble Union Council. Thus it was that an excellent move was not allowed to succeed of setting up locally administered Village Police which could look after purely local problems of crime and law and order without the interference of outsiders. The experiment was tried in three districts in West Pakistan but was abandoned although there was strong precedent and support for this idea to be found in the classic Police Commission Report of 1903.

THE "PATWARI" PROBLEM

If maintaining peace is one, collecting revenue is the other important function of the Deputy Commissioner. The petty revenue officials, however, are the actual functionaries in the field with whom the farmer has to deal, and as the custodian of the records, and as the assessors of amount of crop and quality of land for assessment purposes, these officials (called Patwaris) are capable of cruel exploitation and can be real tyrants. Directives have been issued many times during the last four years to get copies made of all revenue records and to keep them in the Union Council offices, so that everyone can consult them and get copies for a nominal fee, but this effort is being stalled by the interested parties and till today it has not materialized except in a few places. Now again orders have been issued to implement this useful scheme which will clip the wings of the "Patwaris" and it is hoped that the measure will be forced through, though very grudgingly at the lowest levels.

AIMS OF THE ARCHITECT

There is no doubt at all that the intention of the architect of this system was that Basic Democracies should progress along these lines, for in his Inaugural Address to the Seminar on Basic Democracies in May 1963, President Ayub is reported to have said:

> "Let us hope a time will come when these councils will have attained such maturity, as education spreads in the country, that local administration almost withers away, and they run their own police, their own revenue system, and everything else. I would like to see them go in that direction. In ten to fifteen years a situation may arise when the officials are there only to guide and not as administrators and rulers".

The framers of the Basic Democracies Ordinance also seem to desire development on these lines. Thus in Section 34 it is said that the District Council can formulate schemes and recommend them to the Divisional Council and other authorities of importance to the district.

Permission is also specifically given to the District Council "to review generally the progress in various branches of administration in the District". Again, according to the Ordinance, the District Council can "consider local problems of importance to the District in all branches of administration, and make suggestions for development, improvement and general advancement". In Section 37 the possibility is recognized of actual transfer of functions of the Government to the local councils.

GROWTH OF BASIC DEMOCRACIES

As a matter of fact we have seen that development on these lines has been slow, partly because the local councils have been tagged on to the local administration of the government and have been prevented from acquiring more power because of the all-powerful partner, and secondly because some of the smaller functionaries have placed hurdles in the way, fearing a threat to their vested interest. The powers of the Deputy Commissioner, *vis a vis* the councils, have been growing and not diminishing, and this is parallel to the development noticeable in all other spheres of public life in which the officials are being given more and more power and position and the private citizen less and less.

As one senior official remarked in the Seminar referred to above:

> "Instead of the Basic Democracies gaining more control over government departments, the process was reversed and the departments of the government wrested control of some of the functions and powers of Basic Democracies. Few worthwhile powers were delegated and fewer mechanisms evolved to secure public participation in vital areas of decision making in the district".

POSITIVE GAINS

This criticism is too harsh and sweeping. As we shall see there are quite a few important areas in which powers have been delegated to the local councils, particularly in cases where there was no danger of encroachment on the powers that be.

First of all the power of review and recommendation is being used more and more effectively. One comes across an increasing number of cases in which officials are forced to the path of rectitude and efficiency by public exposure. Thus members of the Larkana District Council were heard some time ago questioning the veracity of a report submitted by the Civil Surgeon about the work of the mobile dispensary, and calling for a check-up whether the villages mentioned were actually visited.

In a Union Council meeting in village Maira of Rawalpindi District, a farmer wished to know why the seed store of the Agricultural Development Corporation remained closed during the sowing season, and why all the good seeds had disappeared when it re-opened. The official who gave the stock reply that the matter would be looked into was sharply countered by the farmer who said, "We have heard these replies before. How will you ensure that such a thing will not happen again"?

So much for review; as for recommendation it is specifically laid down that no development plans for any district will be included in the Government development plans unless they have been first approved by the Divisional Council.

CONCILIATION COURTS

However, let us for a moment move beyond the area of local council vs. district administration, and consider some of the important functions delegated to the councils. One of these is the implementation of the Conciliation Courts Ordinance, 1961. Under this, law courts with limited jurisdiction have been set up comprising the Chairman of the relevant Union Council or Committee or Town Committee, and two representatives each of the two parties of the dispute. They try suits of the value of Rs. 500 in Union Councils and Rs. 1,000 in Union Committees or Town Committees. No lawyer can appear before them. Compensation awarded is recoverable as arrears of revenue, and other decrees through a civil court designated by the district judge.

On the criminal side they deal with simple cases such as ordinary hurt, cattle tresspass, or breach of trust upto a value of Rs 100. They can impose no sentence of imprisonment but only fines. The jurisdiction can be raised to Rs. 10,000 in civil cases and to Rs 200 in criminal cases if both parties agree. If the decision is by a majority of 4 to 1, there is no appeal.

These courts have saved the poor peasants from much expensive and futile litigation which was the bane of our rural life. It must be admitted, however, that the justice administered here is rather rough and ready.

MUSLIM FAMILY LAWS

Secondly, there is the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, under which an Arbitration Council is set up, consisting of the Chairman of the Union Council, along with a representative of each of the parties. No one can divorce his wife, or take a second wife without the permission of this Council. The Council can also grant maintenance to a wife and help her in securing payment of her dower or "Mehar". Cases of inheritance of property also are dealt with by this Council. While the Arbitration Council takes care of many common legal problems of village life, the Family Laws Ordinance obviates the need of much litigation by ordering that copies of all marriage and divorce documents be deposited with the Union Council.

RURAL WORKS PROGRAMME

There are a number of other civic and administrative functions being discharged by the Union Councils but the most important of all is the implementation of the Rural Works Programme, which has in fact overshadowed all other activities of the Union Councils.

The idea was first put forward by the Government of Pakistan while negotiating the Expanded PL-480 Agreement in October 1961 with the Government of the USA. The plan was well described in the revised Second Five-Year Plan (November, 1961): "The central idea of the Works Programme is to put the under-utilized manpower of Pakistan to work on nation-building projects by the liberal provision of basic wage goods (that is surplus agricultural commodity available under PL-480). Detailed programmes are still being worked out, though it may be mentioned that the main sectors benefitting from this programme will be coastal embankments, low lift pumps, and small irrigation schemes, low cost housing, feeder roads, school construction, water supply, drainage and reclamation . . . It is proposed to transfer responsibility as rapidly as feasible to the district and lower levels, both to take advantage of the growing strength of the Basic Democracies as well as to provide part of the resources required for their development".

A pilot project was tried out in Comilla, East Pakistan, and later a province-wide programme was launched with a financial sanction of Rs. 100 million. For 1963-64 the financial allocation was doubled in East Pakistan, and in West Pakistan the first yearly programme was initiated with Rs. 100 million. (Very soon payment for labour was being made in cash and not in kind, as initially).

An important decision taken on a provincial level in West Pakistan was that three fourth of the entire allocation should be spent by the Union Councils, on the schemes suggested and planned by them, while the rest was to be spent by the District Councils, for executing bigger projects.

In East Pakistan during 1963-64 the Union Councils received Rs. 30 million only out of Rs. 200 million, while 60 million went to District Councils, Rs. 57.50 million to Thana Councils, Rs. 18.50 million to Thana Training and

Development Centres, Rs. 20 million to Municipal and Town Committees, and Rs. 10 million to Development Authorities.

Thorough evaluation reports have been published by both the provinces and some of the conclusions are worth recapitulating.

In West Pakistan this programme was tried out for the first time, and partly because of delays in disbursement and partly because of in-experience in implementing it, about Rs. 18 million out of Rs. 100 million remained unspent. However, the Union Councils out of their own resources provided and spent some 20 million, and so the overall expenditure came to a little more than 100 million rupees.

In the plans they made the Union Councils gave the highest priority to roads and bridges, culverts and causeways, assigning about 30 per cent of the funds to this sector, but because of difficulties in the execution stage, much of the funds were diverted to the construction of school and dispensary buildings. In the end, therefore, the highest amount of funds went to education (27.7 per cent) while communication received only 21.1 per cent, health 20 per cent, and so on.

A little more than half of the total work was executed by the Councils themselves while the rest was entrusted to contractors. Absence of managerial skill is given as the reason for giving out the work on contract, and it is hoped that this will not be the case later.

In East Pakistan the total grant was utilized. Almost 80 per cent of the total funds were spent on roads, bridges and culverts. This excessive attention to roads as against canals and embankments, indicates short-sighted planning, and also lack of technical skill. Almost three-fourths of the total expenditure went to payment of wages, while one-fourth was spent on buying material. Only 4 per cent was spent on establishment.

The total number of projects executed in West Pakistan was 13,313 at a total cost of Rs. 74 million (excluding expense of staff and contingencies), which works out to the average cost per project of Rs. 5,754.

Out of the total expenditure of 81 million, 23 million was spent on labour, more than half going to unskilled labour.

In East Pakistan 17,500 project committees were set up to execute the rural works programme of the 4053 union councils and the 413 thana councils. Nearly 3,350 million cubic feet of earth was moved by using approximately 25 million man-days of labour.

There is a lot of dissatisfaction with the manner in which the money is spent (despite arrangements for checks and auditing), even so the total constructive work achieved is colossal. As experience is gained, it is hoped that the resources will be put to better and better use. Invaluable training in leadership is being gained by the members of the project committees, many of whom are union councillors, while the chairman of the project committee is invariably a councillor (in East Pakistan).

On the whole, the result of competent surveys has shown that the Works Programme has strengthened the Union Councils by giving them the resources to undertake all the programmes they wanted to, and thus it has raised their power and prestige. On the other hand, there are definite signs that because of this ready availability of funds, the Union Councils are becoming negligent of the support of the village folk, both morally and financially. Obtaining funds locally, imposed a necessary duty of public relations and convassing, which brought with it popular backing. It will be a pity if the Union Councils turn merely into agencies for the implementation of Government financed projects. After all, roads and bridges are not the end to be achieved ; it is the satisfaction and happiness of the people.

HOW PAKISTAN IS GOVERNED

Continued from page 95

ment operating in the local area. This has led to definitions and re-definitions of the power of the attached Departments who are responsible for the execution of Government policies in the field. The Divisional Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners (the regional administrators) would like that the head of the attached Department have no operative control over the subordinates. The heads of the technical Departments, on the other hand, claim that the Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners do not have the competence to guide and take work from technical staff in the field. The heads of the attached Departments are, therefore, made sometimes advisers and sometimes Directors, depending on whether they have an executive or an advisory role in the Department. A number of reorganisations of the Provincial Government have taken place during the last two decades.

The Provincial Government has its own complement of statutory authority, the autonomous bodies and corporations. Besides the above, it has a Board of Revenue. While the Central Board of Revenue is the attached Department of the Ministry of Finance, the Provincial Board of Revenue is an attached Department of the Revenue Department.

All the Divisional Commissioners and all members of the Board of Revenue have a rank and status higher than that of most Secretaries of the Provincial Governments. Lately some Secretaries of the Provincial Governments have been given the status of a Commissioner.

It may also be mentioned that while the Central Government does not have a position like that of a Chief Secretary, in the Provincial Government, a Chief Secretary co-ordinates the activities of all the Departments of the Government in the field of personnel administration and the general administration. He also supervises the Commissioners and the Deputy Commissioners. It may be mentioned in passing that the Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners also report to the Board of Revenue in matters relating to Revenue administration.

Many Departments of the Provincial Governments operate through the Directors and Deputy Directors in the field. Usually a Director operates within the geographical boundaries of a Division and is called a Divisional Director. Occasionally it is found more economical to have a Director operating in two Divisions or more. In such cases he is called a Regional Director. Divisional Directors are usually subordinate to and report to the Commissioner. Regional Directors may or may not do so.

There are also Deputy Directors and they report to the Deputy Commissioners.

The nomenclature is, however, different in respect of the police and some other organisations. The Chief of Police is an Inspector-General who reports to the Home Department. The Deputy Inspectors-General report to the Commissioners and the Superintendents of Police to the Deputy Commissioners.

The Provincial Government are called Government because they have a representative function. Below the provinces, the units are all administrative units—as Divisions, District, Tehsils and Thanas.

THE DIVISION AS A REGION

There are four Divisions in East Pakistan and eleven in West Pakistan. Each is headed by a Divisional Commissioner. The Divisional Commissioners are representatives of the Provincial Governments in the division and are recruited generally from the C.S.P. although some P.C.S. officers have also risen to this rank.

The Divisional Commissioners are also the Chairmen of the Divisional Councils. A Divisional Council is composed of the representatives of the people and the representatives of all the major Departments of Government operating in a Division. The Council has a fund to operate. It is responsible for initiating development schemes in the Division as also for locating the sources of finance, and approving schemes relating to districts. Finally it also acts as a kind of parliament or a grievance committee and the representatives of the people bring complaints relating to various departments to the notice of the council. The heads of various departments are expected to present their reports and explain their budgets to the members of the council.

The Divisional Commissioner exercises an administrative, social, moral and political control over all the Government Departments in the Division. The Divisional Commissioner can report on any office. He can secure the transfer of officers to any Department because of the esteem in which he is held by the Government but he has no powers to discipline members of Government departments other than the revenue. His social control is indeed great and is the same as that of the Deputy Commissioner. The political control of the Commissioner is progressive. He can control a number of Government Departments because of his contacts at the higher levels of bureaucracy but he can also organise and focus public opinion on a Department while presiding over the meetings of the Divisional Council as well as influence people in the interior, where he meets people and gives them audience.

His moral power rests on the fact that he is not only the most enlightened, the most well-informed and the highest civil servant in the division, but he is also by tradition and training usually a man of great integrity and honour.

The Commissioner has very few powers except those of co-ordination and supervision. In matters relating to revenue administration and revenue disputes he is the repository of the powers of the Provincial Government, which enables him to decide disputes. He has also some other powers under other laws, delegated to him. Commissioners feel that these are inadequate to the task imposed on them.

DISTRICTS

Below the Division, are the Districts. There are in all 17 Districts in East Pakistan and 68 in West Pakistan (including one political agency in the former and eleven in the latter). The District is the most vital unit of administration, and it is the locus of most of the executive powers, in as far as they relate to implementation of Government policies and in so far as they relate to the rural areas.

SUB-DIVISIONS

Below the District are sub-divisions. In East Pakistan there are 54 sub-divisions and in West Pakistan there are 86 (by 1963). In East Pakistan all the Districts are divided into sub-divisions. In West Pakistan this is true only of the areas of the former provinces of Sind and the Frontier. In the Punjab the administration was more centralised and there were fewer sub-divisions. The Provincial Administration Commission (1960) recommended the adoption of the East Pakistan plan and has de-centralised the District administration all over by creating sub-divisions.

The head of the sub-division is often called Assistant Commissioner in West Pakistan, and, if he is a member of the Provincial Civil Services, he is called Extra-Assistant

Commissioner. In East Pakistan they are generally known as S.D.O. (Sub-Divisional Officer) and both are in addition to Sub-Divisional Magistrates, and exercise the powers of the Sub-Divisional Magistrates as given in the Criminal Procedure Code. In short, they are miniature Deputy Commisssioners, exercising the revenue, and magisterial powers.

TEHSIL OR THANA

As we shall see, there are vital differences in the revenue administration of East and West Pakistan. Tehsil is peculiar to West Pakistan and is essentially a unit of rural administration. There is no equivalent to Tehsil in East Pakistan.

There are 413 Thanas in East Pakistan. They are under the control of the D.S.P. and are subordinate generally to the sub-division of the District administration. But the Thana has almost acquired the status of a social and political unit in East Pakistan. This is not the case in West Pakistan.

Although Tehsils are bigger in area and smaller in population and perform very different functions in administration than the Thanas of East Pakistan, they are now generally equated with Thanas in political literature of late. The reason is the creation of the last but one tier of Basic Democracies in the shape of Thana Council in East Pakistan and Tehsil Council in West Pakistan, which have been given identical powers. Also any Department, seeking to reach the villages, generally stations an officer in the Thana in East Pakistan and in the Tehsil in West Pakistan.

UNIONS

The last link in the chain which binds the villages to the nation are the Unions. The unions number 4053 in East Pakistan and 3109 in West Pakistan. Unions are a familiar unit of development for East Pakistan, not so in the West. The Union Councils constituted under the Basic Democracies do not recall any familiar political experience for the people of West Pakistan. On the other hand in East Pakistan, the people tend to see in the Union Councils an image of the Union Boards. At present these are very active units of administration and are wholly represented by people.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

We have seen that most of the executive powers of the Provincial Government are located at the district level. The British Government had introduced Local Self Government to promote goodwill among the people and to prepare them for a larger role in the politics of the country. But they never gave the institutions of Local Government adequate power. In East Pakistan, the Local Governments have operated at the Union and the District levels. In West Pakistan they have usually operated at the District level. It was difficult, if not impossible, for the Local Government to flourish under the strong arm of local administration. President Ayub has devised a system which is a more practical step towards Local Government. He has sought to build into the system of centralised local administration a body to elect men who ensure that the administration as a whole sees responsiveness to public will. This is the system of Basic Democracies discussed at some length in the foregoing pages.

THE BUREAUCRACY

Positions in the Secretariat and the field organisations of the Central Government are filled in generally by the members of the Central Services and of the Provincial Governments generally by the members of the Provincial Services. The key posts in the provinces are, however, filled by members of the Civil Service of Pakistan.

The Central and the Provincial Services are divided both vertically and horizontally. They are horizontally divided into Class I, Class II, Class III and Class IV. Classes I and II are further sub-divided into gazetted and non-gazetted ranks. The gazetted officers carry higher status and are mostly recruited by the Public Service Commissions. They are authorised to issue government letters, sign government orders and validate government documents. Members of these two classes are invariably called "officers" and have a number of privileges commensurate with their status. Class III employees constitute the clerical establishment who assist the officers in routine matters. They do not have executive responsibilities. Class IV employees do manual and petty jobs like running errands, taking files and papers from place to place and so on.

Vertical divisions of services by type of work performed has been categorizes as (*i*) the generalist administrative services, as the Civil Service of Pakistan or the Provincial Civil Service; (*ii*) the functional services, as the police, the audit and accounts, the excise, the customs, and finally, the (*iii*) specialists services, as the health, the engineering, the geologists, and so on.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

To understand the role and function of the generalist services it is necessary to understand the basic administrative structure of Pakistan. Provinces of Pakistan have a system very much like the French Preferctures. There are no effective representative administrative organisations below the provincial government. In fact, the entire administrative service which Pakistan inherited was built like a pagoda with a line of authority passing through the Governor-General in the Centre, to the Governor in the province, the Commissioner in the Division, and the Deputy Commissioner in the District. Below the District the uniformity disappears. In East Pakistan, in Sind and parts of other former provinces of West Pakistan there are Sub-divisional Magistrates or Sub-divisional Officers better known in Sind as Assistant or Deputy Collector and in parts of Punjab or N.W.F.P. as Assistant Commissioner or Extra Assistant Commissioner. These officers exercised over-all control in every sphere of provincial administration

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All posts of Assistant Commissioners or Extra Assistant Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners as well as of the Deputy Secretaries of the provincial governments are filled by either the CSP men or the PCS men. The posts of Commissioners, the Secretary to the Provincial Government and of the Joint Secretary and Secretary to the Central Government are generally filled by the CSP though the Audit and Accounts Services have lately occupied many such posts reserved for the CSP.

The officers of the CSP and the PCS are recruited through competitive examinations between the ages of 21 to 24. The CSP men are under the rule-making control of the Central Government although most of them remain in the provinces and occupy some of the most important positions. To reduce the mental distance between the line and the staff and between the centre and the provinces, the CSP men are moved at regular intervals between the secretariat and field organisations of the provinces and the Central Government. Since the CSP is supposed to have *esprit de corps* this arrangement is also expected to ensure maximum co-ordination between various agencies of government. The PCS men, being under the control of the Provincial Government and starting with less pay and poorer prospect, lack the confidence and prestige of the CSP men, even though initially they may have had about the same experience, social and educational background and intellectual abilities.

THE CENTRAL SUPERIOR SERVICE

The Central Superior Services consists of the All-Pakistan Services and the Central Services. The All-Pakistan Services are the C.S.P. and the P.S.P. They are so called because they are liable to serve both the Provincial and the Central Governments. The Pakistan Foreign Service ranks with the Civil Service of Pakistan as the two senior-most services. The Central Superior Services are the Audit Services namely, the Pakistan Audit and Accounts Service, Pakistan Railway Accounts Service and the Pakistan Military Accounts Service. Then there are Pakistan Taxation Service (Income Tax Officer, Class I), Pakistan Customs Service and the Pakistan Postal Service. A Central Information Service has been lately set up.

The Secretariat of the Central Government is serviced by members of all the above services. Besides, there is the Central Secretariat Service and the General Administrative Reserve. The former service is confined to the Secretariat and the latter within *ad hoc* arrangement to fill in the gap caused by withdrawal of a large number of Hindu officers after the partition of British India is 1947.

Besides, there are a large category of public servants serving technical Ministries and there are specialised cadres and careers. This includes the Engineering Services, the Agricultural Services and the Health Services.

The Central Government frequently borrows specialists and even generalists from the Provincial Government for service in the Central Government. These officers retain a lien in the Provincial Government, unless they opt to terminate their lien with the approval of the Central Government. When this is done, the officers become the responsibility of the Central Government and become full-fledged members of the Central Government.

PROVINCIAL BUREAUCRACY

We have already seen that the C.S.P. and the P.S.P. although under the rule-making control of the President, serve the provinces. But the province has its own recruitment policies for filling in the posts in the generalist, the technical and specialist cadre. The P.C.S. and the Revenue Services are among the senior-most of the Services. Besides, there are the Provincial Education Service, the Provincial Engineering Service and the Provincial Agricultural Service. In addition, there are specialist officers serving in the various Departments.

It may be mentioned in passing that there is a difference between a career in a Department and a career in Service. A "Service" is created when the Government can be sure that an adequately large number of permanent vacancies with adequate scope for and ladders of promotion exist in a given branch of Government to permit recruitment of a selected group of men from year to year to man the posts. The creation of a service creates certain ranks and liabilities. Members of a service are entitled to get a job, they cannot be retrenched and they always have a job to which they can revert in case the job they are presently doing disappears. They can be deputed to other departments and organisations but their rights in their parent services are always retained. Members of the Service take their seniority with respect to other members of the service and their promotion is usually in terms of their place within their service. Special rules may be made with regard to the medical facilities to be enjoyed by them. They have a given scale of pay and a predictable career.

RANDOM PAGES OF A WARTIME DIARY

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planes in one go, like a seasoned marksman at a partridge shoot ; a dreamy eyed major and his handful of men defy all known bounds of human endurance and stamina to teach the enemy a lesson ; handsome, strapping young officers drive their tanks through a flood of steel beating the enemy helter-skelter ; enemy drops its bombs at random, missing all vital targets . . .

Lahore, 22nd September

Eve of the cease-fire. The President spoke over the radio in the afternoon to announce acceptance of the cease-fire in deference to the United Nations appeal for peace. But will it really be the end of the war ? Will the zero hour for cease-fire actually come ? Will the serpent not raise its head again ?

Tonight it is cooler and damper than ever before. Tonight there is also more bitter fighting than ever before on all sectors of war, more shelling and clashing of steel. The ominous red glow of gun-flashes encircles Lahore and Kasur and Sialkot and the frontline elsewhere all along the border. Will this ominous red glow really melt away when the sun rises tomorrow ?

This question remains unanswered, for only time will tell. Only time can tell. For the moment, of course, children sit huddled up in air raid shelters repeating their prayers at the grandmother's bidding ; young girls sit up late into the night praying for their brothers and cousins and betrothed at the battlefield ; steel clashes against steel ; guns vomit fire . . .

Sialkot, night of 22-23 September

It is still pitch dark. My friend I. H. wakes up from a dream in the middle of the night. He is lying on damp ground on a borrowed mattress in a strange town, in unfamiliar surroundings. His clothes are damp with the moisture that has seeped up from the earth below ; his feet are stiff for he has been sleeping with his boots on. He is only a few minutes' jeep-ride from the frontline and the frightening red glow of gun-flashes is spread in the entire expanse of the sky above him.

He takes a little time to realise that he is really awake and not dreaming any more. The rumble of the guns echoes through his head. He is here not because he is fighting in the war but to cover the cease-fire for the radio. He screws up his eyes to peer at his watch in the darkness. Is it the zero hour now ? Yes, only a few more minutes to go and the guns will be silent. Right now, of course, they boom with all their vengeance, louder than ever before, and the earth beneath him shakes and shivers. He has a sick feeling rising from the pit of his stomach.

Will the zero hour ever be ? Will somebody at the last minute not hold up the moving hands of the clock ? He feels distinctly uncomfortably and then the peepal tree above him suddenly comes to life against the red glow of the gun flashes. Its leaves rustle and crackle with the ever-rising crescendo of the shell bursts. The tree sways and shivers wearily, as the earth at its feet sways and shivers with the recoil of the guns and the explosions. A covey of vultures nestling in its branches also sways backward and forward with the tree, flapping their wings—noiselessly. They make no sound ; they do not shriek like vultures do; they do not fly away with the din and roar of the guns. They sit there and rock, backward and forward, like a consumptive rocking with every bout of noiseless but excruciating cough . . .

Damn me, do vultures eat living flesh ? Do they ? Will they come swooping down ? Several hundreds of them against one helpless man lying prone on damp ground, like the locusts in Good Earth eating up Paul Muni's cattle ; Gregory Peck hiding his gangrenous leg against a tenacious, winged enemy ; Kalimanjaro, its snows melted and gone, belching smoke and terror ; nagging bouts of consumptive cough gnawing at the perforated core of the lungs . . God, why don't they shriek, like vultures do ? Why do their wings flap noiselessly ? How has all this hate crept into their glazed eyes? . . . and then suddenly, there is no more shell bursts, no more tremors of the damp earth beneath him, no more rustling of dried up leaves. The zero hour has overtaken them all. The guns are silent. The red glow of the gun-flashes creeps back to the very edge of the sky, like an ebbing tide at sunset time. The vulture no more stare down at him with their silent, hateful eyes ; he must get up and join his colleagues inside the dak bungalow . . .

Post-script :

What is war ? What is it really ? An enemy sneaking into the darkness, like a thief in the night ? Or crowd of excited chattering people holding up marigold garlands and coca-cola bottles for soldiers driving to the battlefield ? Or an exquisitively shaped ebony head resting peacefully on the whiteness of a pillow, oblivious of the gathering storm clouds of the war ? Or a lilting, sonorous voice singing a patriotic song ? Or a child crouching in the dampness of an air raid shelter, murmuring his prayers ? Or a soldier seeking life in death ? Or vultures silhouetted in the branches of a peepal tree against blood-red sky ? Or a ruthless heel crushing a handsome Kashmiri face ? Or honour redeemed in the face of death ? What is it, the war, really ? Will this war, or any war for that matter, provide an answer to this question ? Do any wars provide any answers at all ? Do they, really . . .